

The Southern Passion



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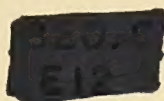
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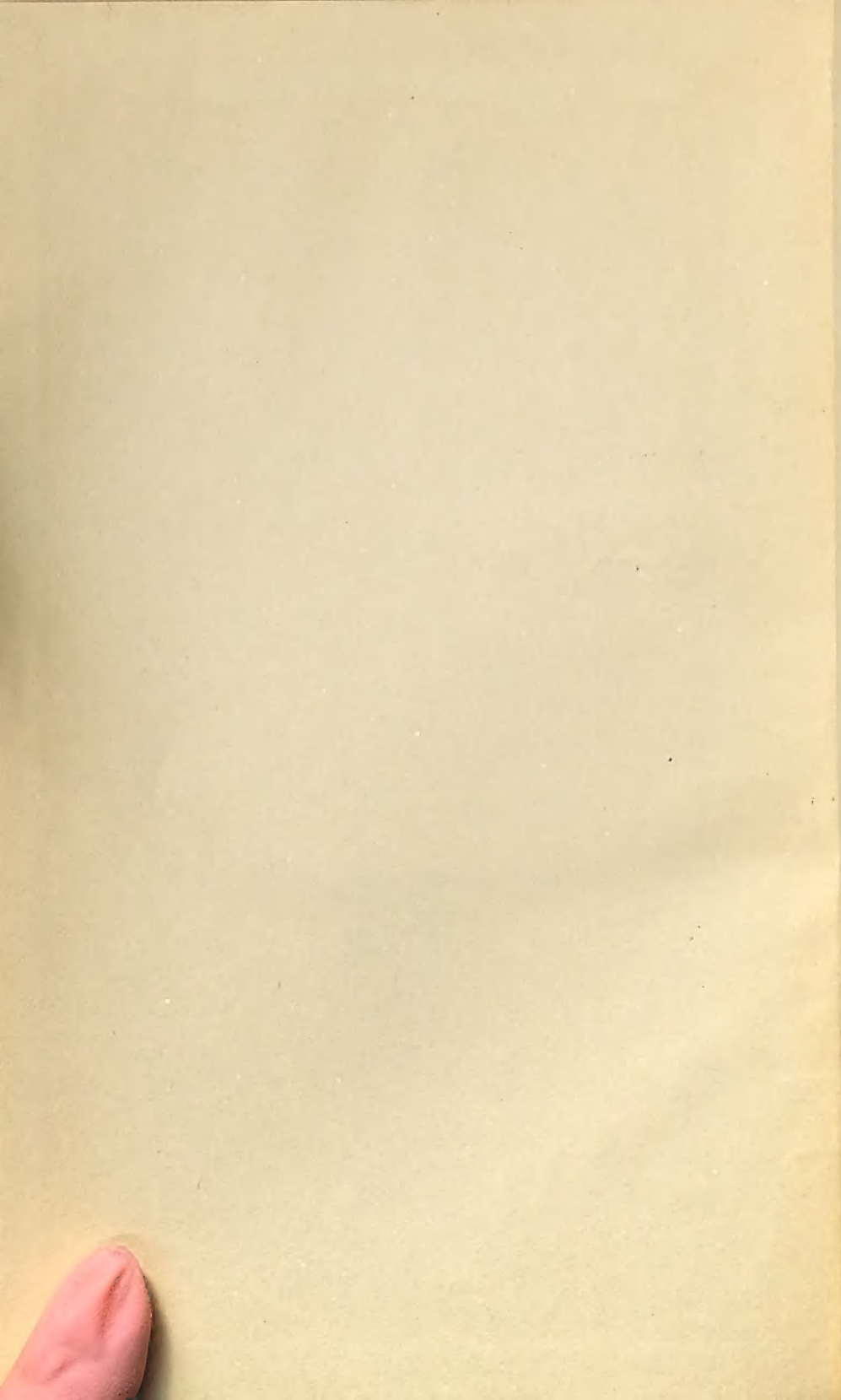
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The Southern Passion

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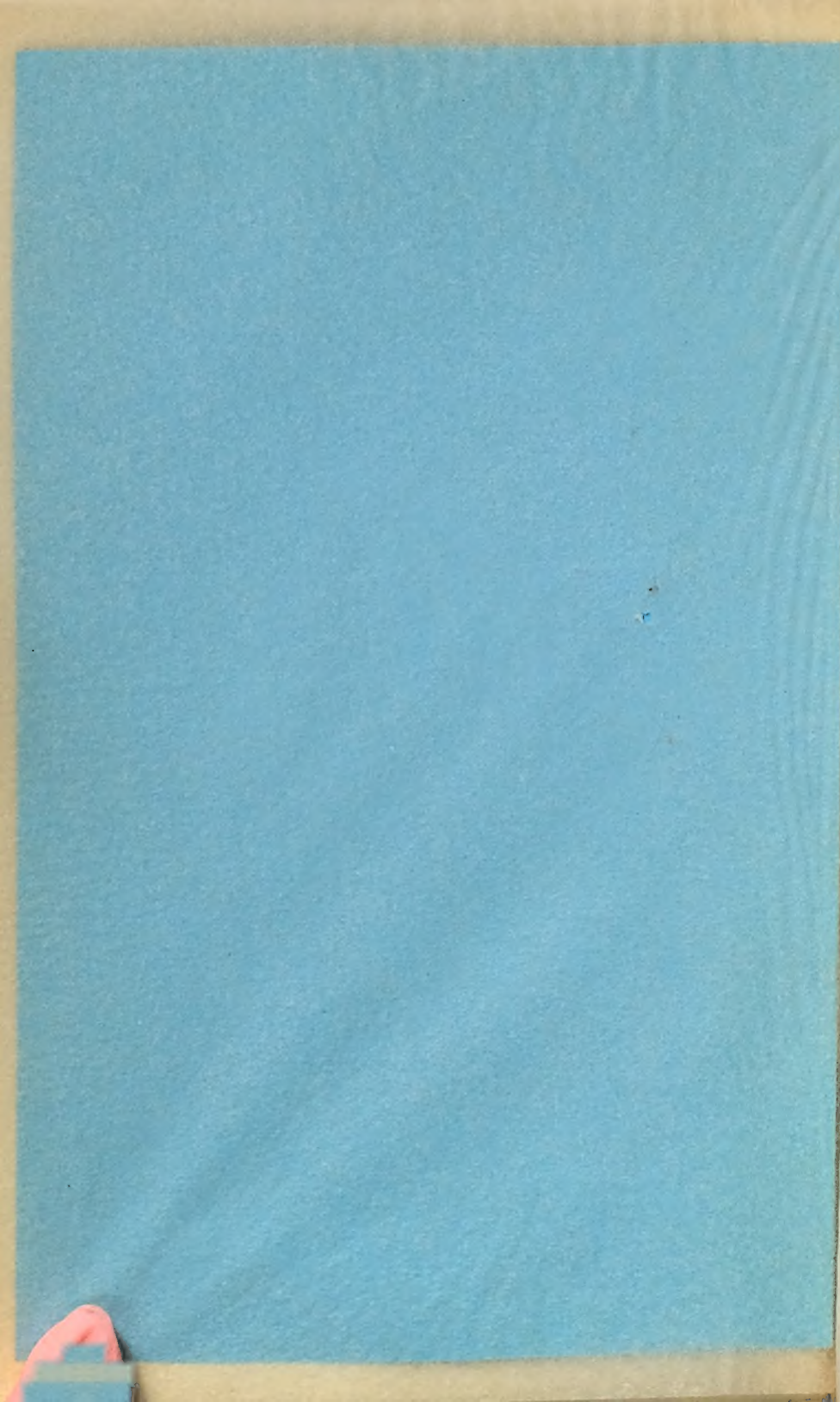
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The Southern Passion

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PEPYSIAN MS. 2344 IN THE LIBRARY OF
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WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND
GLOSSARY

BY

BEATRICE DAW BROWN, PH.D.

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PREFACE

THE *Southern Passion* was suggested to me as a subject for study in 1914 by Professor Carleton Brown of Bryn Mawr College. The investigation was originally concerned with the metrical narrative of the Passion and Resurrection only, this material constituting in itself a complete poem with conventional conclusion. My results were embodied in a dissertation submitted in 1917 to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In the course of preparing this for publication, it appeared that the usefulness of the text would be increased by including the post-Resurrection material through Pentecost, which normally occurs in the MSS. as a continuation of the *Passion* proper. This extension necessitated amplifying the original study to cover the added portion of text. With this exception, Chapters I-IV of the following discussion of the *Southern Passion* represent substantially the original dissertation.

Chapter V is a later addition, for which materials were not available at the time the dissertation was prepared. In this chapter it has been possible to do little more than outline an investigation which could profitably have been carried much further. So manifest is my dependence, in this discussion of the literature of the Friars, on the results of Dr. A. G. Little's researches in Franciscan history, that my attribution of the authorship of the *South English*

Legendary to a Dominican must appear little short of ungrateful.

I gladly take this opportunity to express to the authorities of Magdalene College, Cambridge, my appreciation of their courtesy in permitting the reproduction of the required folios of MS. 2344 in the Pepysian Library. In the course of my investigations I have made use of various libraries at home and abroad. It is a pleasure to record my sincere appreciation of facilities offered by the Libraries of Bryn Mawr College, the University of Pennsylvania, and Stanford University, as well as by the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

To Professor Howard Rollin Patch, under whose direction my dissertation was completed, I am under obligations for helpful criticism.

Finally, I tender grateful acknowledgement to my husband, Carleton Brown, for the addition of side-notes to the text, for generous assistance with proof-reading, and for unfailing encouragement and counsel. Repeatedly, in the preparation of the text, I have been 'avysed by his rede the bettre'.

B. D. B.

BRYN MAWR, PA., U.S.A., *September*, 1926.

INTRODUCTION

I

THE SOUTHERN PASSION IN ITS RELATION TO THE SOUTH ENGLISH LEGENDARY

THE term 'Southern Passion'¹ designates the narrative poem dealing with the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension which is incorporated in numerous manuscripts of the *South English Legendary*.² The poem in its complete form comprises

¹ By this title the poem is conveniently distinguished from the analogous poem in Northern dialect, the *Northern Passion* (edited for the E.E.T.S. as vol. 145, by Dr. F. A. Foster). *Southern Passion* is the term used by Carleton Brown in his *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, Oxford, 1916. I have used the term, at some sacrifice of accuracy, as including the material that is usually found in the MSS. as a continuous poem; viz. the events from the anointing at Bethany to the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The fact that the name *Southern Passion* has become associated with part of the metrical narrative makes it virtually impossible to substitute a more inclusive term (even if one adequately comprehending the material could be found) without causing confusion.

² This term is generally accepted as covering, like the analogous title *Legenda Aurea*, both the Saints' Lives and the pieces dealing with the Life of Christ. It is thus applied in Wells' *Manual* and in the *Register*. Horstmann introduced an element of possible confusion by giving, in his edition of the *South English Legendary* for the E.E.T.S., the alternative title, *Lives of Saints*. It is usual to employ the term as an inclusive one, parallel with *Northern Homily Collection*. Horstmann was the first to assemble and describe texts of the *S. E. L.* on any considerable scale. The text of MS. Harley 2277 seems to have been the one most generally known to scholars of the middle decades of the nineteenth century, although Black discussed also Ashmole MS. 43 and one or two fragments. The great service rendered by Horstmann was, to cite his own modest statement of his purpose, 'to produce the MSS. themselves, and to register the textual tradition, so preparing the way for further investigation' (*E. E. T. S.*, vol. 87, p. vii). In the introduction to his *Altenglische Legenden* (Paderborn, 1875), he described and listed the contents of eleven MSS. of the *S. E. L.*; in the *Neue Folge* (Heilbronn, 1881) he discussed four others in

some 2,550 lines; there are various abridgements. It customarily appears in the *Legendary* as a unit, with points of division indicated by appropriate rubrications, as 'Passio', 'Resurrectio', &c. In one MS. of the collection the Ascension-Pentecost portion of the poem is separated by several items from the Passion-Resurrection.³

The *Southern Passion* is to be distinguished from a kindred piece, the *Life of Christ*, which stands in a few MSS. of the *Legendary*. This poem, which occurs in a longer and shorter version,⁴ is closely related to the *Passion*. Another related item is the *Pascha* or set of verses explaining the feast of Easter. This piece, which occurs independently in several manuscripts of the *Legendary* as one of a series of festal verses,⁵ is also found incorporated in all texts of the *Passion*. These relationships are of special importance in their bearing on the problem of the structural evolution of the *South English Legendary*. Inasmuch, however, as they could not be profitably discussed until texts of the *Life* and other pieces⁶ are accessible

detail, and noted several incomplete and fragmentary texts. The introduction to the edition of the *S. E. L.* for the E.E.T.S. adds little to the information given in the 'Neue Folge', but conveniently lists the contents of several MSS. in parallel columns. Complete lists of contents of all MSS. of the *S.E.L.* known at the present time, including a number not known to Horstmann, are recorded in Carleton Brown's *Register*. The most recent general discussions of the *South English Legendary* are those by Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, Yale Univ. Press, 1916, pp. 292-301, and Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, Boston and New York, 1916, pp. 151-64.

³ MS. Bodley 779; cf. *E. E. T. S.* 87, pp. xxii-xxiii.

⁴ The longer version occurs in MS. Laud 108 (a fragment, ed. Horstmann, under the title *Leben Jesu*, Münster, 1873), and in St. John's College Camb. B. 6. (This is incorrectly noted in the *Register*, ii, No. 1625, as a text of the 'Short Life'.) Of the shorter version, an incomplete text (through the Crucifixion) stands in MS. Egerton 1993, and a full text in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3.25. In the latter case the *Life* is broken into two parts, the Passion-Resurrection portion standing as a separate item (incorrectly described in the *Register* as a text of the *Southern Passion*). For further texts, of which none include a *Passion*, cf. *Register*, ii, No. 1625.

⁵ Cf. *Register*, ii, No. 2173; still unprinted.

⁶ The problem is further complicated by correspondences between the *Life* in both versions and the 'Christmas-poem' which stands in various MSS. An additional factor is the parallel, in part verbally exact, between

in print, the matter has not received attention in the present study.

No reason appears for doubting that the *Southern Passion* was originally written to fill a place in the *Legendary*. All extant texts of the poem (with the exception of a late variant) are preserved in manuscripts of this collection; and, although not invariably included, the *Passion* occurs in several early manuscripts, among them MS. Harley 2277, the earliest text of the *Legendary* which presents normal arrangement. In style and vocabulary, further, the *Passion* resembles the *Legends* so closely as to suggest that it was the work of the same hand. The following list of parallels, although far from exhaustive, will serve as illustration of common tendencies of expression:—⁷

And toward his deþ as he wel wuste þo rod (*S. P.* v. 66).

Toward is deþe forthþ he wende (*Edward King*, v. 58).

Now luper þrift vpon his heued (*S. P.* v. 785; cf. also v. 1295).

Noupe luper þrift on al is hond (*Michael*, v. 366).

Þe ne tyd no part in heuene habbe (*S. P.* v. 888).

Þe ne tit of him no part (*James the Greater*, v. 376).

To pilatus wif he com anigt as hit were in metynge (*S. P.* v. 1269).

To þe Abbod Marcel he cam anygt in metynge ase it were (*John Baptist*, v. 114).

And hare bone is yhurd fol wel (*S. P.* v. 1383).

His bone was fole wel i-heord (*Oswald*, v. 29).

ffor hi beoþ yharled her and þer (*S. P.* v. 1385).

For heo is i-harled here and þere (*Francis*, v. 248).

the legend of Judas and lines in the *Passion* which are common to the *Long Life*. The 'Temporale' (or collection of pieces within the *Legendary* connected with the life of Christ, as opposed to the 'Sanctorale' or Saints' Lives) presents, then, a highly involved problem of structural development, which cannot even be clearly defined until many more texts are available for comparison. It may be said, however, that the arrangement of the 'Temporale' material appears to have been determined by two different structural principles—that of constructing a consecutive biography of Christ, and that of assembling appropriate narratives about the two *nuclei* of Christmas and Easter. Which of these principles antedated the other it is impossible at present to decide.

⁷ Citations from the text of the *Legends* refer throughout (unless otherwise noted) to Horstmann's edition of MS. Laud 103, *E. E. T. S.* 87.

We ne ffyndeþ nouȝt ywrite (*S. P. v. 1515*).

We ne findeȝ nouȝt iwite (*John Baptist, v. 3*).

Swete Ihesu, muche was þe loue þat þou cuddest þere (*S. P. v. 1667*).
Louerd, muche is þi miȝte and þat þou cuddest wel þere (*Wolſtan,*
v. 42).

Per nas non so hey of ham þat sore agast nas (*S. P. v. 1805*).

Þare nas nouȝt on þat it iseȝ þat glad and ioȝful pere-fore nas
(*Edward King, v. 148*).

Further, the attitude toward the church and society reflected in the *Passion* is in general that seen in the *Legends*, as is also the implied relation between writer and audience.⁸ Such differences as appear between the *Legends* and the *Passion*—as, for example, the heightened emotional tone of certain passages in the latter—are in the main referable to difference in subject-matter. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, then, it appears wholly reasonable to refer to the *Southern Passion* as belonging to the *South English Legendary*.

The general correspondences noted above do not, of course, give warrant for asserting identity of authorship for all the legends and Scriptural pieces even in the early collections. Additions and changes were made by various hands, as the *Legendary* circulated, and it is impossible to determine at what point this process began. At the same time, the homogeneous character of the pieces in the early manuscripts offers an obstacle to the acceptance of Horstmann's theory of the *Legendary* as originally a product of group composition.⁹

⁸ These correspondences are discussed under Chapter V.

⁹ The general similarity of the various pieces Horstmann accounted for as 'die Mitwirkung Vieler in demselben Sinne und Stile' (*Altengl. Leg., N.F., p. xlv*). Collaboration he assumed to have been necessary in view of the proportions on which the enterprise was planned, since 'merely to collect the materials . . . transcended the power of one man' (*E. E. T. S. 87, viii*). This conclusion, however, Horstmann based upon the very questionable premise, that 'no Latin *Legendary* on the same basis then existed . . . which could have been used as a source'. Although no single work is known which contained all the materials used in the *S. E. L.*, compilations certainly existed, as for example the twelfth-century Latin collection of *Saints' Legends* in Arundel MS. 91, which would have been of material assistance. Moreover, the composition of separate units to be arranged in calendar order would seem on the whole less difficult than the combining of Latin materials into a consecutive English 'Chronicle'

For the *terminus ad quem* of the *Passion*, historical evidence is supplied by the poem itself. In the unabridged texts, which represent the earlier form, is found, in the course of a passage on Doomsday, the following mention of the Jews in England (vv. 471-6):

Þe kynde as þe gospel seyþ ne shal nouȝt away wende,
þat is the kynde of gywes þat leue shal ffor to þe laste ende;
Hyt shal byleue ffor-to doomesday and þanne chaunge hare
lawe,
And þanne hi shulle to cristendom alle clanliche drawe;
And ffor þis word of þe gospel þis heye men þat beop
Letep hem lybbe among vs as ȝe now yseop.

The reference to contemporary conditions in vv. 475-6 would hardly have been made after the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290.¹⁰ For the anterior limit of its period of composition the *Passion* itself offers no evidence; the *terminus a quo* can only be inferred from that of the *Legendary* as a whole. It is certain that the collection was compiled after the accession of Edward I in 1272, inasmuch as reference is made in the legend of St. Edmund the Confessor (v. 506) to 'þe king Hanry þat was þo, þe kinges sone Ioan'.¹¹ The date 1281 which occurs in *Dominic* (v. 318) in MS. Laud 108, although it is a scribal slip,¹² may be regarded as fixing the earlier limit for that manuscript. But MS. Laud 108, although early, is manifestly not the original. Its evidence does not in any case help us with the *Passion*, as this poem is not included

such as that of Robert of Gloucester, who, nevertheless, in Horstmann's opinion, could compass Chronicle and Legends as well.

¹⁰ For the edict banishing the Jews, cf. Stubbs, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Ed. I and Ed. II*, London, 1882, p. 99. It was effectually and promptly carried out; cf. the safe conduct 'Pro omnibus Judeis regnum exeuntibus' addressed by the King to the Wardens of the Cinque Ports, under date July 27, 1290, Rymer's *Foedera*, London, 1816, i. 736. Higden, recording the expulsion of the Jews in his *Polychronicon*, adds the succinct testimony: 'nec haecenus redierunt' (*Polychron.*, ed. Rolls Ser., viii. 270).

¹¹ *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 445.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 287; the Vernon MS. (as noted here) reads accurately 'twenti' instead of 'fourscore'. The significance of the line in its bearing on the date of the Laud text was noted by Sir Frederick Madden in the introduction to his edition of *Havelok* (Roxburghe Club, 1828).

among its contents.¹³ We shall not be far astray in assigning the composition of the *Legendary*, and inferentially that of the *Southern Passion*, to the decade between 1275 and 1285.

The *Southern Passion* is, in its larger outlines, a faithful rendering of material from the accounts of the four Evangelists, which is woven with no little skill into a continuous narrative. It is distinguished by a grave restraint and an almost austere canonical temper, specially noteworthy in an age which allowed wide imaginative liberty in writing upon sacred themes. This poet's purpose was, apparently, to reproduce closely the matter of his original, especially in recording the words and acts of Jesus and Mary. His practice is consistent; it is well illustrated by the fact that he refrains from introducing into his account the *Planctus* which almost invariably accompany Latin treatments of the Passion theme. At the point where *Planctus Mariae* might naturally have been attracted into the narrative, the poet says only (vv. 1515-16):

We ne ffyndeþ nouȝt y-write þat oure lady in al hure sore
Spak ouȝt bote made deol y-now, ne miȝte no womman more.

Again, the conventional lament of Christ from the Cross is wanting in the account of the Crucifixion, where the poet's fidelity to the canonical text is clearly affirmed (v. 1519):

Oure lord ne spak to ham namore þat we owher rede.

More surprisingly, we find no reference to the Harrowing of Hell. The portions of the poem which are based upon New Testament material constitute, in short, a metrical translation, rather than a paraphrase.

Although the Scriptural material has been but little tampered with, it has been added to in various ways. The poet's scruples did not require him to exclude apocryphal incidents traditionally connected with Judas and the other apostles; and the miraculous conversions of Denis and Longinus are inserted in the Crucifixion story. But his characteristic bent is toward edification; he neglects no opportunity for explaining the symbolism of ritual, for emphasizing the disci-

¹³ It contains, however, as has been noted, a fragment of the related *Life of Christ* in the longer version.

pline of the Church, or for illustrating through his material some lesson of conduct. At the same time, he endeavours to move, as well as instruct, his audience; in connexion especially with the narrative of the Crucifixion we find frequent passages which almost passionately implore the listener to share in spirit the sufferings of Christ.

The distinctive character of the *Southern Passion* stands out more clearly on comparing it with other pieces of approximately the same *genre*. The best known narrative treatments of the Passion in Middle English verse are the thirteenth-century *Passion of our Lord* in Jesus College Oxford MS. 29,¹⁴ the 'Middle English *Evangelie*' of the early fourteenth century,¹⁵ and the somewhat later *Northern Passion*.¹⁶ The first-named of these, which is written in the same meter as the slightly later *Southern Passion*, is a relatively brief Scriptural paraphrase in the manner of a *chanson de geste*; it lacks all homiletic amplification. The *Evangelie*, like the *Southern Passion*, presents a moralized and commentated narrative, but proceeds from the poet's self-confessed desire to win Divine approval; the author of the *Southern Passion* appears to be actuated wholly by the desire to instruct. From the *Northern Passion*, with its lively dramatic dialogue and wealth of picturesque legendary incident,¹⁷ the Southern poem is as remote in spirit as in dialect and metrical form. From all these pieces the *Southern Passion* is set apart by its more explicit didacticism and hortative tone; it is, in short, more obviously than any of the other pieces, a sermon.

With this character of the *Southern Passion* in mind, we may find in examining the sources of the poem a further interest than that of analysing the author's design and reconstructing

¹⁴ *Old English Miscellany*, *E. E. T. S.* 49, pp. 37-57.

¹⁵ Ed. Dr. Gertrude H. Campbell, *P. M. L. A.* xxx. 529-613.

¹⁶ Ed. Dr. F. A. Foster, *E. E. T. S.* 145.

¹⁷ The following legendary material in the *N.P.* has no parallel in the *S.P.*; the vision of Paradise seen by John as he lies on the breast of Jesus at the *Cena*, vv. 271-94; the history of the Holy Rood tree, vv. 1297-1438; the story of the smith and the nails, vv. 1439-1502; the miracle of the Vernicle, vv. 1-54 (*Addit. MS.* only); the story of the imprisonment of Joseph of Arimathaea, vv. 1920-26 (*Harl. MS.* 4196). The Scriptural material in the *N.P.* is often so freely treated as to assume, by contrast with the *S.P.*, almost the character of fiction.

his literary background. For the sermon, like the drama, is a highly social expression; and in noting sources, we are really noting certain specific materials from the literature of the church which became transmuted into popular religious thought. Thus the recognition of our author's fidelity to the Vulgate text makes clear the somewhat important fact that an accurate vernacular harmony of considerable portions of the gospels was put into early circulation. Of lesser consequence, doubtless, is the service performed by the poem in diffusing miscellaneous notions of patristic theology. In relation, however, to one source in particular—the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*—the *Southern Passion* assumes a special significance. In carrying forward the influence of this work to the laity, the poem serves as interpreter of the mystic ideal—the concept of a direct relation between the soul and God, attainable through meditation. This, reduced to elementary terms, becomes the approach to Christ through sympathetic contemplation of his life in the flesh. The *Southern Passion*, then, is one of the concrete media through which was accomplished the spread of mysticism in the thirteenth century.

Lacking those elements which made the *Northern Passion* in the following century readily available for the uses of drama, the *Southern Passion* appears to have left little verbal impress on popular literature in the larger sense. At the same time the incorporation of a portion of the poem in one text of the *Northern Cursor Mundi*¹⁸ testifies that in the field of pious narrative its influence was felt far outside the original region of its composition. And some measure of its popularity is afforded by the considerable number of extant texts in which it is preserved.

¹⁸ Horstmann noted (*N.F.*, p. lxvii) that a passage from the *Resurrectio* had been taken over into the Cotton MS. of the *Cursor Mundi*. Carleton Brown pointed out some time later (*Modern Language Notes*, xxvi, 15-18) that another passage of considerable length, dealing with the sufferings of Christ on the cross, had also been inserted in the same MS. The MS. of the *S.P.* which Professor Brown collated with the *C.M.* (Harl. MS. 2277) is less close to the text of the latter than are other MSS. of the *S.P.*, viz. MS. Pepys 2344, King's College Camb. MS. 13 (Pt. 2), and MS. Bodl. Addit. C. 38, which constitute a group distinct from that to which the Harley MS. belongs (cf. Chap. II, following).

The value of the *Southern Passion* for the modern reader must vary largely with his individual taste and temper. Certain inherent merits, however, it retains. The narrative is structurally firm; although impeded by didactic matter, it moves according to a governing principle from a definite beginning to a definite end. Further, it adjusts a faithful translation to the demands of a complicated narrative and a regular metrical scheme. And apart from these matters of workmanship, the poem reflects occasionally a vigorous originality of mind. The rarity of instances of pre-Chaucerian realism warrants quotation of the following (vv. 1959-62):—

Whanne men sitteþ in hare hayt vp hare ale-benche,
And habbeþ þe pycher ⁊ þe coppe, ⁊ þe botyler to schenche,
Þanne is hare iangle ⁊ hare game to deme som sely wenche,—
Þat god ȝeue þat some of ham miȝte in þe ale-ffat a-drenche!

Even more than by this rough sketch from real life, the author's sharp observation and independence of judgement are illustrated by a passage dealing with contemporary social ethics. Without concessions to convention, he indicts the 'double standard' of sex morality in terms of concrete fact. If a man forgoes 'wild oats',

Me wolde him holde worþy to lygge in shryne.

No credit, however, is given a woman of equally scrupulous conduct:

What is þanne þe woman worþ, as þe meste del beoþ,
Þat ne beoþ ouercome wiþ no byddyng, as we al day y-seoþ?
ȝeo ne shal no seint beo y-holde, ak al stille hit shal beo.
What manere is þis? y ne kan no reason her-on y-seo.

Conversely, in the case of a woman, a slip cancels future chances of married happiness; a man given to the worst excesses is in no danger of suffering the same consequences:—

Me ne seoþ no man þe later him ȝiue a wyf y-wis,—
Knigt ne baroun ne oþer man,—ȝif þat he riche is.

The entire passage (vv. 1925-82) repays study, as an anticipation of modern thought.

A more subtle virtue of the poem, however, lies in the character of its appeal to feeling. This is not to be sought in those lines which dwell on the sufferings of Christ and voice

the poet's indignation over man's indifference to them ; these laments, derived in the main from semi-lyrical passages in Latin treatises, have the impersonal tone of echo. The flavour lies rather in certain passages of sympathetic narrative, and results from an inherent delicacy of reaction on the part of the poet to situations of especially profound appeal. In the midst of a literature saturated with the physical horrors of the Crucifixion, the treatment in the *Southern Passion* stands out as singularly controlled ; gruesome details are not exploited, and each incident is recorded with grave, almost reticent simplicity. Of this aspect of the poem, vv. 1580-2 are typical :—

‘My ffader’, Ihesus sede þo, myd wel softe breþe,
 ‘Ich bytake my gost in þin hond’; and þo closede his eye,
 And his heued heng adoun ; and myd þat word gan to deye.

Perhaps more than any other passage in the poem, the account of the assembling of the disciples for the *Cena* reveals the sensitiveness of the writer to the quality of his material (vv. 867-71):—

Byffore þe ffeste of Ester day, Ihesus wuste þare
 þat his tyme was ney ycome, þat he sholde hennes ffare
 Out of þis wordle to his ffader ; & he was so þere
 þat he louede his owe men þat in þe world were,—
 He louede ham wel atten ende.

Apart, however, from any question of literary or historical values, the *Southern Passion* has a definite interest for the student of language. In MS. Pepys 2344 (from which no pieces have heretofore been printed) we have a useful South-western text, consistent in grammatical and orthographical usage, which adds to the available materials for the historical study of English vocabulary a varied and interesting ‘word-board’.

II

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *SOUTHERN PASSION*

A. *Description of the MSS.*

THE *Southern Passion* is preserved in ten manuscripts of the *South English Legendary*; in addition a fragmentary and much garbled text occurs in a fifteenth-century miscellany of devotional and other pieces. The MSS. are listed below in chronological order, so far as this can be determined.

H. MS. Harley 2277, fols. 4 a-26 a.

A parchment book of 232 leaves, large quarto, 38-40 lines to the page; written in a hand of about 1300.¹ The name of the legend is usually written at the top of each page in red or blue letters.² The name 'John Sanford' is scribbled on the margin of fol. 21 a and elsewhere, and the words 'Dieu saulue nostre royne Elizabeth 1577 per moy Johan Sanford' on the margin of fol. 22 a. Wanley, in his account of this manuscript,³ states that it was owned by the family of Sanford of Comersley in Somersetshire. The words 'John Gower poet' are written in the margin of fol. 8 a in a hand later than the scribe's.

H is the earliest known MS. of the *S. E. L.* whose contents are arranged in the order of the Church year.⁴ It is defective, the first extant article being the *Life of St. Benedict* (March 21), which begins imperfectly. The catalogue lists sixty-nine

¹ Wanley (*Cat. Harl. MSS.* ii. 637) regarded the hand as earlier than 1320; W. H. Black (*Thomas Beket*, Percy Soc., xix, p. xiv) was of the opinion that the MS. was written a little later than the time of Robert of Gloucester. The MS. is dated 1300 by Horstmann (*Allengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, p. iv), and this date is accepted by Brown (*Register*, i, 324).

² The MS. is described by Horstmann, *loc. cit.*

³ *Cat. Harl. MSS.*, ii. 639.

⁴ Contents are listed by Horstmann, *loc. cit.*, and *E. E. T. S.* 87, xiv-xvii; also by Brown, *Register*, i. 324-9. Cf. also Wells, *Manual*, pp. 294-5 (based on Horstmann).

articles, all of which are Saints' Lives except Nos. 2, 3, 5-8 (the *Passion*), 13, 14, 51, 52 (verses explanatory of Church feasts), and 68-9 (Lives of the 'liþer birds' Judas and Pilate). The text of the *St. Brandan* has been printed from this MS. by Wright,⁵ that of *Thomas Beket* by Black,⁶ and that of several of the Lives by Furnivall.⁷

The *Passion* is defective, a lacuna of probably twelve leaves (912 vv.) occurring between fols. 11 and 12. The remainder of the account is unbroken, and presents the story of the *Passion*, *Resurrection*, *Ascension*, and *Pentecost*. The page headings indicate the contents of the pages as follows: 'Leynte-Passiun', fols. 4 a-6 b (through the triumphal entry); 'Passiun', fols. 7 a-11 a (through the beginning of the parable of the ten virgins); no heading, fols. 11 b-15 a (through the middle of the story of the Crucifixion); 'Pascha', fols. 15 b-24 a (through the *Ascension*); 'Pentecost', fols. 24 b-25 b (*Ascension* to the end).

In the *Resurrectio* and *Ascensio* sections, marginal rubrications in a contemporary hand divide the text into passages appropriate to Easter and the successive days of the week following: 'Ewangelium in die Pasche secundum Marcum',⁸ etc.

P. Pepys MS. 2344, pp. 183-237.

A MS. of 528 pages, forty-seven lines to a page; numerous initials in colours; a fine regular hand of the early fourteenth century.⁹

P is one of the earliest examples of the complete (or virtually complete) *Legendary*. It begins with *St. Andrew*. The *Sanctorale* comprises the usual prologue and ninety-three Saints' Legends and *Miracula*; the *Temporale* consists of a Christmas poem, the *Passion*, the Lives of Judas and Pilate, and nine metrical expositions of feast-days.

The text of the *Passion* is complete. Marginal headings on each page indicate the contents, not always accurately, as follows: 'Ewangelium in quadragesima', pp. 183-209 (through the trial before Caiaphas); 'Passio domini in Ewangelio

⁵ Percy Soc., xiv.

⁶ Percy Soc., xix.

⁷ *Early English Poems*, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1862, pp. 34-118.

⁸ Recorded in the *Register*, i. 325.

⁹ Cf. James's *Catalogue of Mediaeval MSS.*, Bibliotheca Pepysiana, p. 89; contents listed here and in *Register*, i. 219-26.

dicatur', p. 210; 'Passio domini', pp. 211-19 (through the *Sepultio*); 'Resurreccio domini', p. 220 (verses explaining Easter); 'Ewangelium post resurrectionem', p. 221 (appearance to the two Maries); 'Ewangelium Magdalene', pp. 222-3 (appearance to the Magdalene); 'Ewangelium', pp. 224-33 (through the appearance to the eleven disciples); 'Assencio domini', p. 234 (the Ascension); 'Post assencionem domini', p. 235 (choosing of Matthias); 'Pentecoste', p. 236.

K. King's College Cambridge MS. 13, Pt. II, fols. 3a-31b.

A vellum MS. of 130 leaves; Pt. I containing the romance *William of Palerne*; Pt. II an incomplete *Liber Festivalis*, 48 leaves (originally 86), single column, 34-6 lines to a page, in the same hand, of the fourteenth century.¹⁰

Pt. II contains, besides the *Passion*, three explanations of feast-days, six Saints' Lives, and the Lives of Judas and Pilate.¹¹ The text of the *Passion* is complete. There are no rubrications.

E. MS. Egerton 2891, fols. 40a-57b.

A MS. of 194 leaves, forty lines to a page, in a clear hand of the early fourteenth century.¹²

E is a comprehensive collection, although the MS. begins and ends imperfectly and has suffered the loss of leaves here and there. In its present state it begins in the *Life of St. Agnes*, and contains seventy-two Saints' Legends and *Miracula*, five explanations of feast-days, the *Passion*, and the Lives of Judas and Pilate.

From fol. 40 a piece has been torn away near the binding so that the beginnings of vv. 1-18 on the recto, and the endings of vv. 41-55 on the verso are wanting. Opposite the first line of the poem is the heading: 'Passio domini nostri Ihesu

¹⁰ Cf. James, *Catalogue of the MSS. of King's Coll. Camb.*, p. 23. Sir F. Madden dated the MS. 'soon after the middle of the XIV century', and regarded the handwriting in Parts I and II as different (cf. the reprint of his introduction to *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S. Ext. Ser. I, xxiii).

¹¹ The contents of Part II are listed in part by Madden, *loc. cit.*; by Horstmann, *E. E. T. S.* 87, xxiv (the MS. here cited incorrectly as 15); by James, *Catalogue*, pp. 23-5, and by Brown, *Register*, i. 214-15. Wells (*Manual*, p. 299) notes that the MS. contains twelve items of the *S.E.L.*

¹² Brown, *Register*, i. 298; contents listed with rubrications, pp. 293-302.

Xristi secundum matthaeum'. The post-Resurrection material is divided by rubrications into readings for the several ferials of Easter, for Ascension-day, and Whitsuntide.

V. Bodl. MS. 3938 (MS. Vernon), fols. 19 b, col. 1-27 a, col. 1.

A vellum MS. of 412 leaves, written about 1385-1390,¹³ in an exceptionally clear, regular hand; with initials of unusual beauty.¹⁴ The text of the *Passion* is written in double columns of eighty lines each.

The *South English Legendary* occupies fols. 1 a-103 a. The *Sanctorale* includes eighty-one Saints' Lives and the usual prologue; the *Temporale* includes an Advent poem (containing the *Life of Christ* in a unique version); seven metrical expositions of feasts, and the *Passion*.¹⁵

At the point in the *Passion* where the *Pascha* normally occurs, only two verses of the latter poem appear. The accompanying rubrication *vt supra* refers the reader to fols. 19 a-19 b, where the *Pascha* is found as one of the group of metrical expositions. No other marginal notations are added.

Ty. Trinity College Oxford MS. 57, fols. 7 a-22 a.

A parchment book of 169 leaves, fifty lines to a page,¹⁶ in a clear hand of the fourteenth century; ¹⁷ initials few and plain; the sign ¶ used at regular six-line intervals.

Ty is a fragmentary text of the *Legendary*, comprising fifty-six

¹³ Brown, *Register*, i. 49. Inasmuch as this MS. contains a poem on the earthquake of 1382, the date given by Horstmann, 1380 (*E.E.T.S.* 87, p. xix), is somewhat too early.

¹⁴ This well-known MS. has been frequently described. Cf., among others, Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, pp. xix-xx.

¹⁵ Contents are listed by Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. xx-xxv (the MS. index to contents through fol. 103 is here reprinted) and *E. E. T. S.* 87, xix-xx; also by Brown, *Register*, i. 49-71. A summary of the contents is given by Wells, *Manual*, p. 297.

¹⁶ The MS. is described by Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* (Oxford, 1852), Pars II, p. 21, and more fully by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, pp. xxx-xxxi.

¹⁷ Dated by Coxe (*Cat. ii*, 21) 'sec. XV ineuntis'; by Horstmann (*op. cit.*, p. xxx) 'aus dem Ende des 14. Jhdts.'; by Brown, *Register*, i. 151, 'end of XIV'.

Saints' Lives, seven explanations of feast-days, the *Passion*, and the Lives of Judas and Pilate.¹⁸

The '*Passio*' section of the *Passion* is indicated by the rubric '*Passio domini*', which occurs at the proper point on the right-hand margin of fol. 7 a, and at the top of the recto of each folio through 14 a. On fol. 14 b the word '*Pascha*' occurs in the right-hand margin, opposite the first line of the festal verses for Easter, and on the upper margin of fol. 15 a. '*Demonstratio ihesu cristi*' or '*demonstratio*' occurs on the recto of each following folio through 21 a; '*Ascencio domini*', fol. 21 b; '*Pentecost*', fol. 22 a.

B. Bodl. MS. 2567 (MS. Bodley 779), fols. 25 b-40 a, 171 a-171 b.

A paper MS. of 310 leaves, single column of fifty-six lines, in an irregular hand of the first half of the fifteenth century.¹⁹

This is one of the largest collections, combining legends from various sources. The *Sanctorale* includes 122 Lives (the Prologue is lacking); the *Temporale*, twelve explanations of feast-days (*Pascha* is copied twice), the *Ewangelium Sancti Johannis*, the Advent poem (two versions), and the *Passion*.²⁰ Portions of the *Temporale* are distributed through the book, with no apparent order of arrangement. The *Ascencio* and *Pentecost* sections of the *Passion* (fols. 171 a-172 a) are separated from the *Passio* and *Resurrectio* (fols. 25 b-40 b) by several intervening pieces. The *Passion* begins with the account of events of Tuesday in Holy Week; the opening line corresponds to v. 749 of the text of *P*.

On fol. 25 b, just above and to the right of the opening line

¹⁸ Contents listed by Coxe, *Cat.* ii. 21-5; by Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii; and by Brown, *Register*, i. 151-6. Wells gives a summary of the contents (*Manual*, p. 296).

¹⁹ Cf. *Summary Catalogue*; the MS. was described also by Horstmann, who dated it variously as sixteenth century (*Altengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, p. xxxiv) and fifteenth century (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. xxii).

²⁰ Contents listed by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, pp. xxxv-xxxvii, and *E. E. T. S.* 87, pp. xxii-xxiii; also by Brown, *Register*, i. 29-37. Wells gives a brief note on the MS. (*Manual*, p. 299). A number of the Saints' Lives in this MS. have been printed by Horstmann, *Arch.* lxxxii, 307-53 and 369-422.

of the *Passion* is found the rubrication 'Passion of crist'. The heading 'Passioun', in the hand of the text, occurs on the recto of each succeeding folio through 41 a, the article 'pe' being prefixed on the last three folios. The title *Passion* is thus made to include, by the rubrication, the entire poem through the appearance to Thomas.

T. Bodl. MS. 9837 (MS. Tanner 17), fols. 48 b-80 a.

A MS. of 111 leaves, forty-two lines to the page,²¹ in a clear coarse hand of the early fifteenth century.²² The MS. is inscribed 'Thom. Tanner ex dono Gul. Herne, Jan. 20, 1730'.

This is a fragmentary manuscript, containing only the first forty-four items of the *S. E. L.* It begins with the *Banna Sanctorum* and breaks off in the legend of Augustine. The contents include thirty-six Saints' Lives, the usual festal verses, and the *Passion*, the last-named followed by the Lives of Judas and Pilate.²³

L. Bodl. MS. 1596 (MS. Laud Misc. 463), fols. 26 a-35 b.

A MS. of 164 leaves, written in two columns, one of long lines, forty-eight to a page, the other of half-lines, forty-eight to a page, in a fair hand of the early fifteenth century;²⁴ a very few plain initials.

The *Legendary* is complete; it begins with the usual prologue (here entitled 'pe cristendam of pe world') and includes eighty-six Legends and *Miracula*, nine metrical expositions of feasts, the *In Principio*, the *Passion*, and the Lives of Judas and

²¹ Described by Zupitza, *Anglia*, i. 409.

²² Zupitza, *loc. cit.*; Brown, *Register*, i. 93. In the *Cat. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars IV, col. 18, the date is given as 'XVth century'.

²³ Contents listed in the *Cat. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars IV, cols. 18-21; by Brown, *Register*, i. 93-6. Zupitza collated the contents of the MS. with those of Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 145, *Anglia*, i, pp. 394-410. Horstmann mentions this MS. briefly in *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. ix, and *Altengl. Leg.*, Neue Folge, p. lvi. In the latter he states erroneously that *T* has the first 24, instead of the first 44, of the items usually found in the *S. E. L.* Wells (*Manual*, p. 296) notes that it contains 44 items.

²⁴ Described by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, pp. xxxi-xxxii; cf. also Brown, *Register*, i. 11.

Pilate. A table of contents stands on fol. 1 b with the heading :
'hec est continentia huius libri in lingua anglicana'.²⁵

A. Bodl. MS. 30236 (MS. Add. C. 38), fols. 84 b-95 b.

A parchment MS. of 121 leaves, single column of forty lines, in a clear hand of *ca.* 1410 ;²⁶ illuminated border and capitals.

A is a fragmentary text of the *Legendary* ; the *Sanctorale* includes thirty-three Saints' Lives, and the usual prologue ; the *Temporale* includes seven explanations of feast-days, the *Testamentum Christi*, and the *Passion*.²⁷

The rubrication '*passio domini*', in the same hand as the text, occurs in the upper right-hand margin of the recto of fols. 85-93. The term *Passio* thus covers events through the burial of Christ. Fols. 93 b, 94 a have the rubrication '*festum pasche*' ; fol. 94 b '*ascencio domini*' ; fols. 95 a, 96 a '*festum Pentecoste*'.

F. Camb. Univ. MS. Ff. 5. 48, fols. 87 b-95 a.

A paper MS. quarto, of 140 leaves, thirty lines to a page, in a hand of the middle of the fifteenth century. The MS. has been rendered almost illegible in many places by rain-water, as well as by the mistaken zeal of restorers.²⁸

This MS. is a miscellany in which are included, in a group, three pieces from the *S. E. L.* ; viz. the legend of Michael, the verses on the Annunciation, and the *Passion*. It is the only MS. in which both the *Northern Passion* and the *Southern Passion* appear.²⁹

The oldest catalogue attributes the pieces in this collection to one Pilkington, but he appears to have been responsible for no more than the transcription of one poem.

²⁵ Contents listed by Horstmann, Brown, *loc. cit.* This MS. contains three religious pieces not belonging to the *Legendary*. Wells has a note on the MS. (*Manual*, p. 296).

²⁶ Cf. Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, v. 764. The language would suggest a somewhat later date (cf. p. 1 below).

²⁷ Contents listed in *Register*, i. 126-8.

²⁸ Cf. *Cat. MSS. Libr. Univ. Camb.* (1857), ii. 505. This MS. is described also by J. A. H. Murray, *E. E. T. S.* 61, p. lvii, and by Dr. F. A. Foster, *Northern Passion*, i. 14-15.

²⁹ Contents listed in *Catalogue*, *loc. cit.*, and in *Register*, i. 182.

This text of the *Southern Passion*, which varies radically from all other MSS., has been disregarded in the following discussion.

B. *The Relation of the MSS.*

The ten MSS. of the *Southern Passion* (excluding Camb. Ff. 5. 48 as a late and worthless variant) fall into two main groups, the first comprising *PKA* and the second *HVTBTyEL*. These two groups will be referred to as π and τ respectively. Neither of these groups can be accepted as preserving with exactness the original text of the poem. Thus vv. 350 a-350 d and 2412 a-2412 f, which must have stood in the original, are preserved in *H* (the oldest and most authentic MS. of Group τ), but are wanting in *PK*. On the other hand, *PK* preserve vv. 310-15 (apparently from the original text) which are wanting in *H*. The versions represented by Groups π and τ are not widely divergent in respect to content: the variation between them consists chiefly in the phrasing of lines or half-lines, transpositions, and the like. The following examples (selected from many) may be cited to illustrate the divergence between the two groups.

Group π . *Þe mone wiþdraw hure liȝt also* (*P*, v. 1551).

Group τ . *Þe sonne wiþdrouh hire liht also* (*H*, v. 564).

Group π . *ffram ffraday ffor-to soneday ffro workes ham wiþdrawe*
(*P*, v. 1708).

Group τ . *Hi þoȝte him smyrie þe soneday as þe dai gan dawe*
(*H*, v. 717).

Group π . *My god whi hastou me fforsake? þo þe gost sholde out go,*
 My god whi hastou me fforsake? eftsone he sede so
(*P*, vv. 1569-70).

In MSS. of Group τ the order of the lines in this couplet is transposed.

1. GROUP π (MSS. *P*, *K*, *A*)

P and *K* agree so closely in their readings as to suggest a direct relationship between them. As both MSS. were written in the first half of the fourteenth century it would be

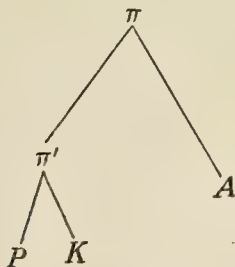
difficult to decide on palaeographical evidence alone which was the earlier. Moreover, a line for line comparison of the two texts establishes the fact that neither was copied from the other. For the scribe of *K* omits four lines (vv. 106, 110, 2531, and 2532) which are found in *P*, while on the other hand *P* lacks two couplets which appear in *K*. One of these couplets (printed as vv. 2224 a-2224 b), being required by the context, must have been skipped by the scribe of *P*. But the other couplet (vv. 1718 a, b) may possibly be an expansion on the part of the *K* scribe. Further evidence tending to show that *P* was not copied from *K* is seen when one considers the general contents of these two MSS. For whereas *K* is an extremely incomplete text of the *S. E. L.*, containing only a few pieces, apparently selected, *P* presents a complete and organized collection. So far, however, as the text of the *Passion* is concerned, the similarity between these two MSS. is so close as to make it appear that both were copied from the same MS.

A, a much later MS. of Group π , represents an abridgement of the normal text. It omits certain passages dealing with Judas (vv. 27-8, 35-40, 787-92), the account of the triumphal entry (vv. 41-138), the acts and teachings in Jerusalem (vv. 139-758), the discourse at the Last Supper (vv. 829-908, 929-1070), a detail in the Crucifixion (vv. 1615-20), and the Appearances after the Resurrection (vv. 1783-2366). That this text is a true abridgement, and cannot represent the original extent of the poem, is clear from the illogical character of the transitions in the short form. For example, vv. 1-32 of *A*, containing the account of the anointing at Bethany, are followed immediately by v. 759 according to *P*.

pan morwe as þan wednesday, as hi hare red nome.

A agrees with *P K* in all the crucial readings differentiating Groups π and τ . In numerous points of detail, however, it reads with MSS. of the other group; e.g. *H V A* *hed*, *PK* *ffet*, v. 7; *H V A* *and þo*, *PK* *þat*, v. 20, &c. These instances may point to contamination. It is probable, however, that the scribe of *A* had access to a more primitive text of Group π than that which gave rise to *P* and *K*.

The relations of MSS. within Group π may be thus represented:



Explanation.

π = parent text of group.

π' = text which has introduced minor corruptions.

A = abridgement of π , or of a direct descendant.

A , although included in Group π on the basis of crucial readings, presents abridgements which in several instances correspond to those of the sub-group of texts of the short recension in Group τ . This relationship will be discussed in connexion with the latter group.

2. GROUP τ (MSS. H, V, B, T, Ty, E, L)

Three of the MSS. in this group, Ty, E , and L , constitute a sub-class which will be discussed under § 3.

Of the remaining MSS., only one, T , gives a complete text of the *Passion*. H is defective, a gathering of leaves involving vv. 595–1502 of the *Passion* being lost. V and B have been independently abridged; a number of passages, chiefly of hortative or expository character, are omitted from V ,³⁰ and all the material preceding the *Cena* from B ,³¹ which begins at v. 749. T , although complete, has many corrupt passages, and the normal order of material in the post-Resurrection portion is transposed.

V and T derive from a text (τ') later than H , since these two

³⁰ The manner in which V has been edited supports the conclusions drawn by Miss J. D. Sutton (in her discussion of the Vernon *Ipotis*) that the scribe of the Vernon MS. was addicted to tinkering the texts that came to his hands (*P. M. L. A.*, xxxi. 114–60).

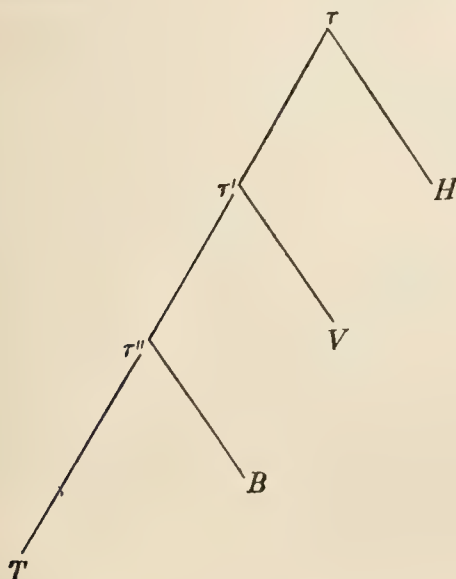
³¹ B has also a number of unique passages, apparently interpolated.

MSS. have corrupted readings in vv. 415-17, which reads correctly in *H*:—

z for wickede dede
To moche worp among hem, loue z godhede
Of meni worp al akeled.³²

B and *T* derive from a text (τ'') later than τ' , since an interpolated couplet, vv. 1284 a, b, is common to both.

The relation of the texts in Group τ is indicated by the following diagram :



At least one text showing the transposed order of material which characterizes *T* is to be assumed between τ'' and *T*.

3. SUB-GROUP λ

This group, which comprises *Ty*, *E*, and *L*, represents a shortened recension of the original. The purpose of the abridgement was apparently to reduce the poem to a narrative of events, since the passages omitted by all three MSS. are almost wholly expository.

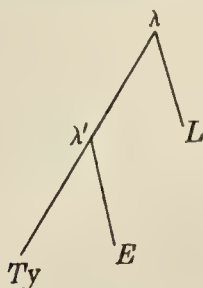
³² Cf. Matt. xxiv. 12, 'Et quoniam abundavit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum.'

Common to the group are eleven excisions of varying length: vv. 11-16, 27-8, 37-758, 787-92, 829-908, 929-1070, 1615-20, 1783-4, 2039-40, 2221-4, 2255-6. *L* is further shortened by the omission of over forty short passages, chiefly couplets, and by the frequent condensation of three lines into one. *E* agrees for the most part with *Ty* in excisions and transposition, but concludes somewhat surprisingly at v. 2366, with the commission to the Apostles to go into all the world and preach.

The three MSS. clearly derive from a common abridgement, which is not, however, reproduced exactly by any one of them. Thus *Ty*, the most inclusive of the three, lacks a few lines which are preserved in *E*: 1231-2, 1334-5. Nor can *L* have been abridged from the immediate ancestor of *Ty* and *E*, as it contains v. 1393, which is lacking in both the other texts, and vv. 1333-6, of which the first line is wanting in *E*, the last two in *Ty*.

The material from v. 1873 to the end is divided by rubrications into several sections. These units are variously arranged in the three MSS. ; the order in *E*, however, differing only slightly from that in *Ty*, whereas that in *L* stands apart from both.

It is obvious that, to account for these correspondences and variations, numerous other manuscripts of this short recension must have existed besides those which have come down to us. The general relation of the MSS. in this sub-group may be indicated by the following diagram :



It remains to consider the relation between the abridged version represented by this group, and *A*, the abridged MS. in Group π . Of the eleven excisions common to Sub-group λ , six (vv. 27-8, 37-758, 787-92, 829-908, 929-1070, 1615-20) are

shared by *A*. Since *A* omits all the post-Resurrection material to the Ascension (vv. 1783-2366), we have no further basis for comparison. But it is to be noted that vv. 11-16, which represent the first excision of the λ version, stand in *A*. This MS. is thus seen to be linked with both groups. One may suppose that the scribe of *A* was guided by the excisions in an abridged text while transcribing a MS. of Group π . Confirmation of this conclusion is afforded by the treatment in the same MS. of the text of the *Evangelie*, which, as Dr. Campbell has shown, must have been transcribed from two MSS., one giving a condensed, the other an expanded, form of the poem.³³

The point at which Sub-group λ should be attached to the main stem is difficult to determine. It would appear, however, that some MS. intermediate between *B* and *T* was the direct ancestor of the original abridgement, on the following grounds:

1. The readings in general follow *B*.

2. The transposition of the post-Resurrection material is characteristic of *T* alone, among MSS. of the complete *Passion*. The order of units in *L* is close to that in *T*.

3. A couplet, vv. 1231-2 of the normal text, is omitted in *Ty* and *L* (although retained in *E*) and is wanting in *T* at the point where it properly belongs, but patched clumsily in at a point farther along in the narrative, where it is obviously not in keeping with the context.³⁴ It would appear that in the common ancestor of *T* and the abridged group, the couplet in question was omitted, and the omission remedied in the margin. The manner in which succeeding texts dealt with such a passage would vary according to the intelligence of the scribe.

4. The MSS. of the *Legendary* in which *Ty*, *L*, and *T* are respectively included show striking agreement in content.

³³ Cf. *P. M. L. A.*, xxx. 541.

³⁴ The lines are as follows:

Hi bounde him to a pyler: and wyþ scourges gonne him bete
þat þer ȝorn down to his fet: þe blodȝ stremes grete.

They belong properly in the narrative of the trial before Caiaphas. In *T*, they are brought in after v. 1414, in the narrative of events taking place in the hall of Pilate:

þo pilat hadde oure lord dempt: þe Iewis hem bi-þouȝte
How þei miȝte most schame do: or þei him to deþe brouȝte.
first þei bounde him, &c.

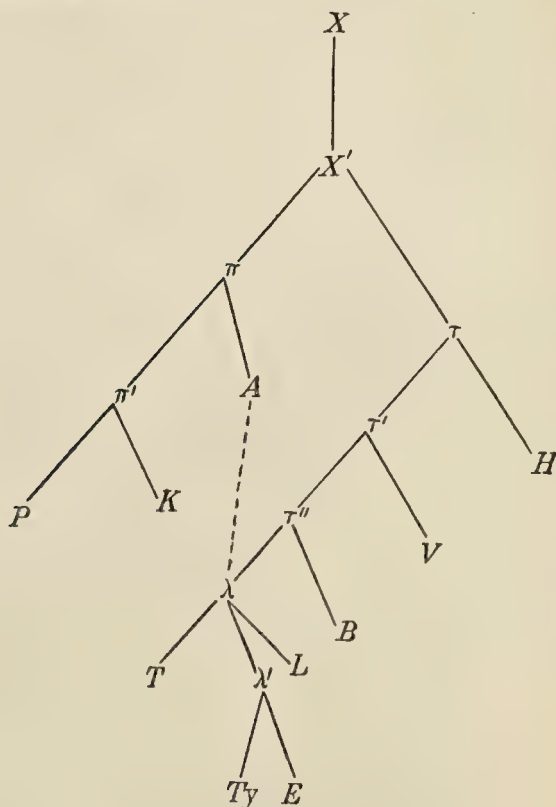
4. THE RELATION OF THE GROUPS

Both Group π and Group τ present the corrupted line—

*ƿe ston ƿat ƿe beolderes habbeþ goeð y-ffounde.*³⁵

Both must therefore be descended from a text (X') later than the original (X).

The relation of the groups to one another is suggested by the following diagram:³⁶



³⁵ Cf. Matt. xxi. 42; Luc. xx. 17; 'Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes.'

³⁶ With this diagram should be compared the *Stammbaum* of the MSS. of the *Life of St. Brendan* constructed by Dr. Bälz, *Die ME. Brendanlegende des Gloucesterlegendars*, Inaugural Dissertation, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1909. Dr. Bälz appears to err in making *B* directly dependent on *Ty*, a relationship which the diagram of the *Passion* shows to have been impossible.

III

PROVENIENCE AND DIALECT

THE problem of the provenience of the *Southern Passion* can hardly be approached except as part of the larger problem presented by the *South English Legendary*. The identification of the two for purposes of discussion is admissible, inasmuch as no reason appears for doubting that the *Passion* was originally composed for the *Legendary*, and, as has been noted, manuscript evidence indicates that it did not circulate independently. Various considerations of vocabulary, method, and point of view combine, further, to associate the poem with the other pieces in the collection.¹

Such geographical testimony as is offered by the *Legendary* does not suffice to identify the exact place where the collection was composed. Numerous allusions, however, in the legends of English saints² indicate that the southern and south-western

¹ Cf. pp. ix-x above.

² Only those legends have been considered which are common to a number of the early MSS. I append a list of those English saints of most frequent occurrence :

Dunstan	Glastonbury.
Edward the Elder	Shaftesbury.
Wolfston	Worcester.
Edmund King	Bury St. Edmunds.
Edmund the Archbishop	Salisbury-Canterbury.
Kenelm	Winchcomb.
Cuthbert	Durham.
Alphege	Bath.
Thomas a Beket	Canterbury.

The larger number of these are seen to have been objects of special local interest in the S.W. The question of sources must of course affect any conclusions in the matter. I have so far as possible checked up the cited passages by versions of the Latin *Vitæ*. In any case such definitely localizing phrases as are found in the legends, 'her bi este' and 'bi norþ here beside', would hardly be carried over from a source, nor would the phrase reminiscent of experience, 'as ȝut men þer i-seoþ'.

counties of England were thoroughly familiar ground to the author (or authors) of the work.

The shrines, churches, abbeys and the like which are described with an attention to detail suggestive of first-hand acquaintance on the writer's part form a group lying within fairly narrow limits. The most southerly point in this tract is Wareham in Dorset; the author of the *Life of St. Edward the Elder* knew the exact location of Edward's tomb at Wareham, 'bi este þe churche a luyte',³ and its distance from the final burial-place at Shaftesbury, a shrine which he describes in detail.⁴ The Priory of Worcester,⁵ the Abbey of Glastonbury,⁶ and the church of St. Nicholas at Abingdon⁷ are referred to in terms that suggest that these institutions lay within a radius of local interest.

It has been perhaps too readily assumed, in the absence of tangible evidence, that the *Legendary* was compiled at the Abbey of Gloucester. This opinion, for which there is slight foundation beyond the existence of verbal parallels between certain legends and Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, together with a general similarity in vocabulary and dialect, will be more appropriately discussed in connexion with the authorship of the work. It may be noted, however, that no allusions in the legends point to Gloucestershire as their background, whereas, on the other hand, certain passages strongly suggest Somersetshire.

In *Kenelm*, in the course of an inventory of the possessions of the king of Wessex, occur the lines :

³ *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52. I do not find this passage in the *Vita* edited by Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, vol. i, 330-49.

⁵ Cf. *St. Wolston*, *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 71. The praise of the Priory of Worcester, the scene of one of the saint's miracles, does not occur in the version printed by Surius, *Vitae Sanctorum*, 1618.

⁶ Cf. *St. Dunstan*, *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 20. Surius, whose version of the *Vita* agrees in great part with that in the *S. E. L.*, discusses the connexion of Dunstan with Glastonbury, but does not give the passage in the version found in *S. E. L.* that expresses praise of the institution.

⁷ Cf. *St. Edmund the Confessor*, *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 435. The version printed by Surius agrees in the main with that in *S. E. L.*, and runs very close to it in the portion dealing with the death of Mabel, Edmund's mother, but does not mention her tomb at Abingdon, which is described in detail in the poem.

And somersete þat to welles þulke tyme drouȝ;
 Nou hit is þe bishopriche of baþe, ȝe witeþ wel ȝnouȝ.⁸

Such a remark as 'ȝe witeþ wel ȝnouȝ' would not reasonably be addressed to persons living outside Somersetshire itself, since the laity could hardly be expected to follow the shiftings of other bishoprics than the one in which they found themselves.⁹ The possibility that the phrase 'ȝe witeþ wel ȝnouȝ' may be a meaningless bit of padding (even though it occurs nowhere else in the geographical introduction to *Kenelm*) is disposed of by a piece of significant textual evidence. MS. Laud 108 has the unique reading 'ȝe schullen i-wyten',¹⁰ obviously the correction of an editor who has sacrificed rhyme to plausibility. It happens that this text stands apart on linguistic grounds from the main body of MSS. of the *Legendary*. One would conclude that 'ȝe witeþ wel ȝnouȝ', far from being a device for filling out the line, was so pointed that a scribe living at a distance from Somersetshire recognized its inappropriateness in his own neighbourhood, and revised accordingly. Somersetshire, then, may be suggested, although not without reservations, as the home of *Kenelm*. The extension of the inference to include other *Legendary* texts is in some measure

⁸ *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1862, p. 49. The source of the geographical introduction to *Kenelm* is found in the *Gesta Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury, Rolls Series, vol. 90, pp. 100-1. The following passage supplies the basis for the verses in question: 'Et in pago Sumersetensi qui habebat olim apud Wellas episcopum qui nunc est Bathoniae.' The phrase 'ȝe witeþ wel ȝnouȝ' is obviously the poet's addition.

⁹ As a matter of fact, however, Somersetshire at this time belonged to the joint bishopric of Bath and Wells. A heated controversy continued through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries between the Priory of Bath and the secular cathedral of Wells for the possession of the episcopal seat. The conflict dates back ultimately to the removal of the see from Wells to Bath in 1090 by a charter of William Rufus (Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. ii, p. 257). By 1135 the contention had come to such a point that the Pope decreed that in future there should be a joint diocese of Bath and Wells. This decision did not prevent frequent friction; in 1243 the monks of Bath elected a bishop without consulting the canons of Wells. As a result of this, the joint bishopric was more firmly re-established, and bishops 'of Bath and Wells' were thereafter elected until the sixteenth century (Dugdale, *op. cit.*, ii. 277).

¹⁰ *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 347; cf. side-note 1.

warranted by an allusion in the *Life of St. Swithin*. This saint, the poet says, was born in the reign of Egbert:—

þe eizteteope king he was þat come after kenewold þe kyng
þat seint beryn dude to cristendom in Englonde furst bringe.¹¹

Cenwald is mentioned again a few lines later:—

seint berin her bi weste wende
And turnde þe king kenewold as oure louerd him grace sende.

Although the 'her bi weste' can signify nothing more definite than Wessex, the general field of Birinus's missionary labours,¹² there is a more pointed significance in the introduction of Cenwald. Bede records that it was Cynegils, not his son, Coinwalh or Cenwalh, who was converted by Birinus,¹³ and 'Cynegils' is the name that appears in the Latin versions of the legend of Swithin to which that in the *South English Legendary* approaches most closely.¹⁴ The substitution of Cenwald, if it is not merely a slip, might be accounted for by a local interest in that Saxon king, who was famed for his aggrandizement of the kingdom of the West Saxons. It happens that Somersetshire might naturally have kept up a tradition about Cenwald, for it was at the hill of Peonna, or Pen, in Somersetshire, that he won his most famous victory over the Britons.¹⁵ Alone, the coincidence is worth little, but it should be noted, together with the matter of the bishopric, as

¹¹ *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1862, p. 43.

¹² Cf. *De Sancto Birino*, in *Nova Leg. Angl.*, i. 118-19.

¹³ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Plummer, 1896, lib. iii, cap. 7.

¹⁴ *De Sancto Swithuno*, in *Nova Leg. Angl.*, ii. 358. Cf. also *De Sancto Birino*, *loc. cit.* (The variant 'Kinegilfo' recorded by Horstmann, *Nova Leg. Angl.*, ii, 358, is apparently the result of confusion of the long s with f.) Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* has 'Kingulf' (v. 4956). 'Kinegilpho' is the form found in the *Vita* printed by Surius (iii. 30).

¹⁵ Cf. the *Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 1848, i. 531; also the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *Rolls Series*, i. 52-4. The significance of the battle is discussed by Lappenberg, *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings* (Thorpe's translation), 1884, i. 318-19; and Hodgkin, *Polit. Hist. of England*, i. 178. The root is preserved in Pensford, the name of a village in the northern part of the county. According to Hodgkin, Poennum (or Peonna) is 'probably the modern "Pensel wood" on the south-eastern border of Somersetshire' (*loc. cit.*).

pointing toward Somersetshire as the home of the *South English Legendary*.

An examination of the language of the MSS. of the *Passion* yields results altogether consonant with the hypothesis of a south-western provenience for the *Legendary*. The area of inquiry is limited at the outset by the almost exclusively Southern character of the early texts. The two earliest MSS. of the independent *Passion*, *H* and *P*, are South-western texts with a slight admixture of Midland forms; they were apparently copied from texts written farther to the South. MS. Laud 108, which contains the earliest text of the *Life of Christ*, is from the Midland border. Later texts, as *T*, *I*, and *A*, exhibit a larger proportion of Midland forms, to be explained doubtless by the widening area of Midland dialect as well as by the circulation of the *Legendary* in territory originally Midland. Only in the variant text in Camb. Univ. Ff. 5. 48, and the St. John's Coll. Camb. MS. of the *Life of Christ*, both of which were written in the fifteenth century, do we find a decided Northern shading.¹⁶

It would obviously be unprofitable, in these circumstances, to repeat in connexion with each MS. tests by which forms common to the South and Midland are distinguished from those characteristic of the North.¹⁷ The object of the following pages is rather to establish the general character of each text as prevailingly Southern or Midland, and wherever possible to

¹⁶ On the former, cf. Murray, *E. E. T. S.* 61, p. lviii; on the latter, Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Neue Folge, p. li.

¹⁷ Results of a few of the most common tests as applied to the two earliest MSS., *H* and *P*, are herewith supplied, as illustrating the absence of northern shading in the *Southern Passion* in the early stages of its MS. history:

O.E. *ā* > *ō* invariably: *HP stones-bones* *1595-6, &c. O.E. *c* (= *k*) > *ch*: *H moche*, *P mucche*, 16, 25, &c.; *H iliche*, *P yliche* 532 &c.; *H churche*, *P chirche*, 87, &c. Plurals in *-en* are frequent: *HP ejen* 96, 1638; *H lampen* 533, 540; *H cheoken*, *P cheken* 1528; *HP eren* 1528, *HP honden* 1656, 1660, &c.; *H treon* 75, 1595 (*P treos*). The distinction between the vowel of the singular and that of the plural in the preterit of strong verbs is kept in *H*: pl. *H jeue* 27; *HP to-breke* 1633; *HP speke* 1634. The final *-n* of the infinitive, and of the pret. pl. of strong verbs is kept in many cases, notably in rime: Inf. *HP done* 16, 754, *H gadern* 238, *HP gon* *397, *1084, *1684, *2061, &c. The final *-n* of the pret. partic. is in most cases dropped; *HP ydon* *1541 is exceptional.

suggest narrower limits by comparison with documents of established provenience. The results are submitted chiefly as showing the type of modifications undergone in the course of a century and a half by an originally South-western text.

The accompanying table of dialect tests has been compiled from those defined by Morsbach¹⁸ and Kaluza.¹⁹ These tests have been applied to each MS. under consideration. The following conventions have been employed in recording the results of the tests: line numbers refer to the text as printed, and an asterisk indicates a rime-word.

TABLE OF DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

PHONOLOGY.						
	O.E.	W.M.	E.M.	S.W.	Mid.S.	S.E.
(1) <i>ǣ</i> before single nasal ²⁰	.	o (a)	a (o)	a	a, o	a
(2) <i>ǣ</i> ²¹	.	a	a	a	a (e)	a, e
(3) <i>ǣ</i> before <i>r</i> in verbs and adverbs ²²	.	N.M.O. S.M.E.	e (a)	e (a)	e (a)	e (a)
(4) <i>a, ea</i> before <i>ld</i> ²³	.	o	o	o (e)	o (e)	e
(5) <i>u, ū, y, ȳ</i> (other sounds by analogy) ²⁴	.	i √ i (e)	u √ i (e)	u (i)	u	e (u)
(6) Vowel in unaccented final syllables ²⁵	.	u (i)	e (i)	e	e	e

¹⁸ *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, Halle, 1896.

¹⁹ *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1900.

²⁰ Cf. Morsbach, § 7 (Anm.), § 88; Kaluza, 207. These authorities are not fully in agreement. According to Morsbach, *a* is regular in E.M., *o* more frequent in W.M., *a* in S.W. and S.E., variation in Mid.S.; according to Kaluza, *o* is frequent in the W.M. and the South with the exception of Kent. (In the case of *a* before a lengthening consonant group, different results appear; this test has not been applied in the present discussion.)

²¹ Cf. Morsbach, § 95; Kaluza, § 208.

²² Cf. Morsbach, § 7 A 5; Kaluza, § 204 (3).

²³ Cf. Kaluza, § 209 c.

²⁴ Cf. Morsbach, §§ 127-33; Kaluza, 226 a, 227 a. Here, again, is some conflict; according to Morsbach, Midl. has regularly *i* (*y*, with sporadic *e* (especially after the thirteenth century), S.E. *e*, with occasional variation between *e* and *i* (*y*), S.W. and Mid.S. regularly *u*, with occasional *i* and *e* before certain consonant groups; according to Kaluza, O.E. *ȳ* becomes in S.W. *u*, in S.E. *e*, in Midl. *i*, but O.E. *ȳ* becomes S.W. *u*, *ui*, S.E. *e*, Midl. *i*.

²⁵ Cf. Morsbach, § 7, Anm.; he does not regard the distinction as absolute. According to Skeat (*English Dialects*, p. 80, *u* in unaccented final

	O.E.		W.M.	E.M.	S.W.	Mid.S.	S.E.
(7) <i>hw</i> (initial) ²⁶	.	.	.	wh	wh	wh (w)	w (wh) w
(8) <i>f</i> (initial) ²⁷	.	.	.	f	f	f, v	f, v v (f)

MORPHOLOGY.

(9) Pronouns ²⁸							
3 sf.	.	.	.	3ho, 3he, scho, sche		heo, he; hire; hure	
3 pl.	.	.	.	þei, her, hem		hi, here, hem	
(10) Ending of indic. pres.							
3 pl. ²⁹	.	.	.	-en, -e		-eþ	
(11) Derivative suffix -l of							
2 wk. conj. ³⁰	.	.	.	Lost		Preserved	
(12) Prefix <i>ge</i> ³¹	.	.	.	Lost (preserved)		Preserved	
(13) Ending of pres. participle ³²	.	.	.	ende ↓ inge	(ande) ↓ inge	inde ↓ inge	

The Dialect of the Several MSS.

H

Herefordshire may be suggested as the probable home of this text. The language is in general South-western, with syllables is a peculiarity of W.Midl., but inasmuch as Skeat includes under 'West Midland' the northern part of Gloucestershire (cf. *E. E. T. S.*, Ext. Ser. I, xli) his opinion is not in conflict with that of the authorities quoted.

²⁶ Cf. Kaluza, §§ 204 (8), and 271 d. It may be added that *wh* (or *hw*) occurs in *Caiaphas* (ed. Carleton Brown, *Kiltredge Anniv. Papers*, pp. 105-10), *w* with occasional *wh* in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, and *w* in the *Ayenbite*.

²⁷ Kaluza, § 210 (10), regards the voicing of *f* and *s* in initial position as characteristically Kentish; Morsbach, with greater accuracy, observes that voiced initial *f* is frequent throughout the South. Carleton Brown has noted the frequent occurrence of voiced *f* in *Caiaphas* and the *Gloucester Chronicle*, and commented on its appearance in older Southern texts as the *Ancren Riwle* and the *Owl and the Nightingale* (*op. cit.*, p. 112).

²⁸ Cf. Kaluza, § 204 (14); also Diehn, *Frühmittelenglische Pronomina*, Heidelberg dissertation, 1901 (also in *Kieler Studien*, vol. i).

²⁹ Cf. Morsbach, § 7 B 1, 9 a B 1, 9 b B 1; Kaluza, § 204 (20).

³⁰ Cf. Morsbach, § 7 B 4, 9 a B 4, 9 b B 4; Kaluza, § 204 (16).

³¹ Cf. Morsbach, § 7 A 18, 9 a A 18, 9 b A 18; Kaluza, § 204 (19).

³² Cf. Morsbach, § 7 B 3, 9 a B 3, 9 b B 3; Kaluza, § 204 (22). Again some conflict is to be noted. According to Morsbach, the Midl. has regularly the ending -*end(e)*, seldom -*and(e)*, later -*inge*; the S.W. and Mid.S. -*inde* (rarely -*ende*), later -*inge*; Kent invariably -*inde*. According to Kaluza, the Midl. in general has -*ende*, later -*inge*, the S. *inde*, later -*inge*.

a stronger Midland shading than the early MSS. of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*. Further, *H* has several characteristics in common with the English lyrics in MS. Phillipps 8336, which are in the hand of the author, Friar William Herebert of Hereford,³³ and with MS. Harl. 2253, which was written apparently at Leominster Priory.³⁴ Certain of these forms are shared also with the poem *Caiaphas*, which Carleton Brown has located, on other than linguistic evidence, at Wells;³⁵ but the affinities of *H* with the Herefordshire documents are on the whole more striking. Especially to be noted are several instances in *H* of *oe* as the representative of O. E. *eo*: *moek* 57, *loene* *1927 (riming with *greue*), *loec* 2151, *boefþe* 1966, *boeþ* 2029, *soeþ* 2095, *fourtoeþe* 2369. (There is one instance of *o*: *bo* *465, inf., riming with *mo*.) Friar Herebert's MS. shows numerous forms in *eo*, representing both *eo* and *eo*.³⁶ *Caiaphas* has several instances of *oe*, representing (as Carleton Brown has noted) only *eo*.³⁷ Again, the form *wordle*, which is characteristic of *H*, is of frequent occurrence in Phillipps 8336.³⁸ A less precise parallel, but one not without suggestion, may be noted between the numerous instances of *u* for *eo* in *H*; *durchede* 1543, *hurte* 1597, *hurte*: *smurte* *1583-4, &c., and of *ue* for *eo* in MS. Harl. 2253.

Together with the following notes on the language of *H*, I have recorded for comparison notes on corresponding forms in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester. The conventions used in referring to MSS. of the *Chronicle* are those employed by Wright in his glossary.

³³ Cf. Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1924), pp. xiii-xiv.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xiii; cf. Thos. Wright, *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, Percy Soc. iv, pp. vi-vii.

³⁵ *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 114-17.

³⁶ *Hoeuene* 21:16, *boeth* 21:21, *moek* 22:7, *hoennes* 23:30, &c. (Citations are from texts as printed and numbered in *Religious Lyrics*.)

³⁷ *Kittredge Anniv. Papers*, pp. 113-14; instances are here noted of the occurrence of the form in MS. Digby 86, also in the *Owl and the Nightingale*. Cf. also forms in MS. Emmanuel Coll. 27, which is probably from Chichester (James, *Catalogue*).

³⁸ *Rel. Lyrics*, 20:5, 20:22, 21:7, &c.

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *a* before a single nasal > *a*, *e*: *fram* 96, &c.; *man* 17, 1598, &c.; *an* (prep.) 180, 1576, &c.; *meni* 40, 1553, &c.; *eni* 51, 52, &c. *Chron.* has regularly *mon*, *moni*, *eni*.

2. O.E. *ǣ* > *a*: *þat* 3, 10, &c.; *hadde* 18, 59, &c. *Chron.* has *þat*, *A* and *B* texts; *þet*, *B* text only.

3. O.E. *āe* before *r* > *er*, *ar*, never *or*: *þer* 2, 4, &c.; *ber* 26, &c.; *wharto* 23; *owhar* 1519. *Chron.* has *ar* *A*-text, *er* *A* and *B* (or in *þ*).

4. O.E. *a*, *ea*, before *ld* > *o*: *solde* 22, 34; *tolde* 1804, 1898, 2079. Exception *yseld* *23 (riming with *ideld*). *Chron.* has *itold*, *tolde*.

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, > usually *u*: *ibured* 39; *hul* 47; *buggeþ* 570; *brudale* 286. *U* is regular in the rimes: *brude* *2462 (riming with *Iude*); *cunde-munde* 1563-64. In certain words *i* is invariable: *siþe* 22, 83, &c.; *silf*, *silue* 26, 304, &c.; *which* 1524, &c.; *clipeþ* 135, 1542, &c. *Chron.* has fewer forms with *i*: *kunne*, *subue*, *wuch*, *clupic*, &c., are regular in *A* and *B* (with occasional *selue*, *clepe*, in *B*). Texts of the later recension only show *kyn* and compounds.

6. The vowel in unaccented final syllables is invariably *e*. *Chron.* has *o* in comparatives and superlatives: *gladdore*, *eldoste*, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* > invariably *wh*: *whan* 515, 1550, &c.; *which* 1524, &c. *Chron.* has regularly *w*: *wo*, *wuche*, *wy*, &c.

8. O.E. initial *f* is not voiced except in the following cases: *vyue* 549, 557; *vif* 550, 558, *vyf* 1757 (but *fyue* 1652). In *Chron.* initial *v* preponderates; it is replaced by *f* in texts of the later recension.

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns are as follows: 3 sf. *heo* 9, 1552, &c., *hire* (poss.) 9, 1554, &c., *hire* (acc.) 39, 1518, &c.; 3 pl. *hi* 62, 545, 1503, &c., *here* 64, 547, &c., *hem* 549, &c. *Chron.* has 3 sf. *he* (*heo*), *hire*, *hire*; 3 pl. *hii* (*hi*), *hor* (*her*, *here*, with *heor*, *heore*, in *B*-text only), *hom* (*him*, *hem*).

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-eþ*. *Chron.* also

has invariably *ep*. *Schulleþ* (by analogy) is more frequent than *schulle* in *H*.

11. The retention of the suffix *-i* in the infinitive of verbs of the second weak conjugation (and of others by analogy) is usual: *sau*i 186, *serui* 195, *þolie* 201, &c. This usage is regular also in *Chron*.

12. The prefix *i-* (*y-*) for older *ge-* is regular: *iheld* 18; *ymaked* 23; *ihure* 1599, &c.

This is the usage of the *Chron*.

13. The verbal noun suffix *-inge* has entirely replaced the true participial *-inde*.

Chron. has both forms for the participle: *glosinde* 10, 218, *vastinde* 11, 322; but *vastinge* 8645.

P

This MS. is South-western, with Midland shading notably in forms replacing O.E. *u*. It appears to have been copied from a text less influenced by Midland dialect (cf. no. 7). *P* has in common with *H* the dialectal form *wordle* 137, 212, 398, 1064, &c. (but *world* 373, 1029, 1030).

There are no instances of *oe* as the representative of older *eo*. *Oe* is invariably written for *o* in *goed* (= *bonus*): 37, 166, 174, &c.; riming with *flode* *483, *mod* *632.

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *ǣ* before a single nasal > *a*, *o*, rarely *e*: *man* 1047, &c.; *ffram* 1087, &c.; *an* (prep.) 1080, 1576, &c., beside *on* 1648, 1674, &c.; *whan* (pron.) 1045, &c.; *mony* 27, 341, &c. *E* stands regularly in *eny* 51, &c.

2. O.E. *ǣ* > *a*: *þat* 1046, &c.; *hadde* 1062, &c.

3. O.E. *ā* before *r* in verbs and adverbs > *er* regularly in rime words, elsewhere *er*, *ar*: *þer* 4, 5, *869, 1192, &c.; *er* 216, *287, *1189, 1324, &c.; *ar* 55, 482, 498, 622, &c.; *wharso* 804.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea*, before *ld* gives regularly *o*: *solde* 34, 360, *779 (riming with *tolde*); *ysold* 793. Exception *seld* *23 (riming with *ydeld*).

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ* gives regularly *u*: so invariably in *muche*,

luper, *3ut*, *dude*, *lutel*, *whuch*, *subbe*. *Y* occurs sometimes before a palatal or nasal: *byggères* 110; *wyke* 135, 136; *kynde* 463, 471, 472, 481, beside *kunde* 1048, 1474, *kunde-munde* *1563-64. *E* occurs in *smerede* 7, 11, &c.; *selue* 1380 (beside *sulf* 26, *sulue* 304) and regularly in *eche*, *echon*.

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is regularly *e*, with *o* occasionally in the comparative and superlative of adjectives: *strengoste* 1439; *hardore* 1598; *vyllore* 1676 (cf. *Chron.*).

7. O.E. *hw* gives regularly *wh*. Exceptions *wanne* 157, *wucche* (pron.) 1420; *wucche* (n.) 164. The auxiliary *wole* is in one instance written *whole*—a slip which suggests that a scribe accustomed to the Midland *wh* was copying a text written farther to the South; Midland influence is apparent also in *whanhope* 1410, *whit* 660, *whittes* 664, *ynwhit* 1954.

8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns are Southern: 3 sf. *3eo* 7, 37, 173, &c.; *hure* (poss.) 9, 73, &c.; *hure* (acc.) 194, 1270, &c.; 3 pl. *hi* 61, 72, &c.; *hare* 64, 104, *ham* 5, 52, &c. (beside *hem* 232, 1294). The pronouns in general resemble those found in the *Ancren Riwe*.

10. The ending of the pres. indic. pl. of verbs is invariably *-eb*.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* (*-y*) of verbs of the second weak conjugation is usually kept: *sauy* 186, *wytie* 194, *polye* 1120, *helye* 1447, but *hele* *30 (riming with *stele*). Romance verbs follow the same general usage: *conforti* 1072, *deliuery* 1317, 1345, 1346, 1367 (but *deliuere* 1362).

12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly kept as *i-* or *y-*.

13. The ending of the present participle is invariably *-ing*, *-yng*.

K

K is to be associated with *P* on the score of dialect as well as of content and crucial readings.

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *ǣ* before a nasal > regularly *a*: *whanne* 86, &c.; *mani* 397, &c., *fram* 796, 798 (beside *from* 96).
2. O.E. *æ* > regularly *a*: *hadde* 18, 60, &c.; *þat* 20, &c.
3. O.E. *āe* before *r* gives *a*, *e*, never *o*: *whare* 800, *wharso* 804; *ar* 35, 848, &c.; *þere-bere* *25-26; *þer-of* 28, &c.
4. O.E. *a*, *ea*, before *ld* gives regularly *o*: *solde* 22, *isold* *23 (riming with *yldeld* 24), 34, 360, 843.
5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, gives usually *u*, occasionally *i*, *y*: *suppe* 9, 22, &c.; *muchē* 16, 32, &c.; *sulf* 26, &c.; *lute-prute* *907-8 (but *lite* 583, *litel* 633); *kunde-munde* *1563-4 (but *kynde* 1547, 1560). *I* (*y*) is regular in certain words: *nywe* 845, &c.; *triwe* 638, &c. There are a few instances of *e*: *smerde* 11; *yclepid* 340; *kende* 1048.
6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is usually *e*, but sometimes *i*: *prechiþ* 370; *yclepid* 340; *clepiþ* 341; *bisshopis* 1128.
7. O.E. *hw* gives regularly *wh*. Exceptions are rare: *war-to* 23, *wyle* 597. Especially to be noted are instances of *wh* for *w*: *whanhope* 1138; *whas* (vb.) 1170; *who* (for *wo*) 821.
8. Initial *f* is not voiced except in the following cases: *viþ* 613, 616, 624, 627 (but *fiue* 617, 623, 628).

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns are Southern: 3 sf. *heo* 9, &c.; *hure* (poss.) 9, *hire* (poss.) 1513; *hire* (acc.) 1518; 3 pl. *hi* 61, &c.; *hare* 64, 861, &c.; *ham* 1193, 1496, &c.
10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-eþ*.
11. The derivative suffix *-i* is usually kept: *keueri* 33, *witic* 194, &c. (but *wite* 39).
12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly kept.
13. The pres. participle ends in *-inge*.

E

The dialect of this MS. resembles that of the A-text of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* more closely than does any other text of the *Southern Passion*. Similarities are especially to be noted

in the treatment of O.E. *hw*, the voicing of initial *f*, and the pronouns. The writing of *ss* for *sh* or *sch* is also characteristic of both.

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *ā* before a nasal > *a*, *o*: *man* 17, 786, &c.; *an* (prep.) 1080 (but *on* 1418, *oppon* 1422); *wan* (pron.) 1133, 1420, &c.; *wam* 1140; *mony* 1498, 1553, &c.

2. O.E. *ǣ* > *a*: *þat* 3, 673, &c.; *hadde* 70, &c.; *was* 11, 87, &c.

3. O.E. *ǣ* before *r* gives *e*, *a*: *þer* 25, 1344, &c.; *þer* 26, *bere* 1454; *er* 1434, 1576, &c.; *ar* 923, 1111, 1324, &c.; *þarc* 1145, 1343, &c.

4. O.E. *ea* before *ld* > *o*: *solde* 34, *isold* 793.

5. O.E. *ǣ*, *ī*, *ȳ*, *ȳ*, gives usually *u*: *fuld* 10; *ysmured* 19; *luþer* 786, 1533, &c.; *kunde-munde* *1563-4; *I* (*y*) is regular in certain words: *lite* 1139, &c.; *triwe* 826, &c. There is a sprinkling of forms in *e*: *weste* 795 (beside *wuste* 1135, *nuste* 1561); *ihere* 1597 (beside *ihure* 1583, 1589). Irregular forms are *weoste* 1124; *feorste* 1210, 1476.³⁹

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is regularly *e*. There are a few plurals in *is*: *lanternis*, *brondis*, 1129; *giwis* 1142, 1169, &c. *O* occurs in the comparative and superlative of adjectives: *vilor* 1676, *strengoste* 1429, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* gives invariably *w*.

8. Initial *f* before a vowel, and *f* between vowels, is regularly voiced. Exceptions *ffor* 26, &c.; *feorste* 1476; *fel* 1650, 1653; *fondynge* 1094, *fond* 1099, 1117. Initial *f* followed by a consonant is not voiced.

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns: 3 sf. *heo* 1517, &c., *hure* 1513, 1517, &c., *hure* (acc.) 1518; 3 pl., *hy* 759, 1467, &c. (*hi* 769, 1480, &c.), *hore* 763, 1606 (*hare* 768, &c.), *hom* 796, 812 (*ham* 826, 1083).

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-eþ*.

³⁹ *Feorste* also in Layamon's *Brut* (ed. Sir Frederick Madden, 1847), 4506, 12242 (MS. Cotton Calig. A ix); *cheorches* (MS. Cott. Otho C. xiii).

11. The derivative suffix *-i* is regularly kept. Exception: *wile* 1710, 1715.

12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly kept as *y-*. Exception: *sold* *23.

13. The ending of the pres. participle is invariably *-ynge* (*-inge*).

V

The language of *Alexis* in this MS. has been discussed in detail by Horstmann⁴⁰ and by Schipper.⁴¹ Inasmuch, however, as this version of *Alexis* is a poem of northern origin not indigenous to the *Legendary*, the character of the language is naturally different from that of the *Passion* in the same MS. The latter poem has no Northern shading, though it contains some Midland forms.

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *ǣ* before a nasal > *o*, *e*: *mon* 17, 59, &c.; *monne* *678, *mony* 27, 40; *whon* 86, *þonne* *677 (beside *þenne* 681). *eny* 1306, 1465.

2. O.E. *ae* > *a*, *e*: *þat* 14, 39, 104, &c.; *hedde* 18, 67, &c.; *hedde-ledde* *1403-04.

3. O.E. *āe* before *r* gives regularly *e*: *þere* *16, *þer* *25, *er* 137, &c. *Were* is regular in rimes, *weore* within the line.

4. O.E. *a*, *ca* before *ld* gives invariably *o*: *sold* *23 (riming with *idalt*); *solde* 34; *tolde* 605.

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, give rise to a variety of forms. *U* is frequent: *ifuld* 10, *luþere* 104, &c., *sulleres*, *buggeres* 110, *kun* 423, *sunne* 452. *Uy* occurs in at least an equal number of cases: *kuynde* 471; *kuynde-muynde* *1563-4; *pruyte-luyte* *907-8 (but *proute-oute* *593-4). *E* is regular in *self* and compounds; *clepe* and derivatives; *i* occurs in *chirche* 15 (but *churche* 548) and *sipþen* 83, 584 (but *seþþen* 234).

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is frequently *u*: so regularly in the inflectional ending of the genitive; *lordus* 6, *godus* 126, *worldus* 211, and occasionally in the nominative plural, *cloþus* 64, *wordus* 470. *U* occurs also in *oþur* 75, &c.

⁴⁰ Herrig's *Archiv*, lvi, 393-4.

⁴¹ *Quellen u. Forschungen*, xx, 20-65.

(but *oþer* 336), *fadur* 160, &c. (but *fader* 1478), *aftur* 776, &c., *undur* 156, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* gives *wh*, which is in some cases smoothed to *h*: so *hose* 94 and regularly.

8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns are mixed Midland and Southern: 3 sf. *heo* 9, *hire* (poss.) 9, *hire* (acc.) 39; 3 pl. *þei* 386 (*þey* 1804), *heore* 1200, *hem* 1146.

10. The ending of the pres. indic. pl. is regularly *-eþ*. Exceptions: *wite* 4, *biseche* 77, *sechen* 1831.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* of the second weak conjugation is in no instance retained.

12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly kept as *i-* (*y-*). Exceptions: *buried* 39, *out-cast* 212, *do* *1021.

13. The participial ending *-inde* is retained in certain instances: *sittinde* 58, *slepinde* 518, *rennynde* 1122 (but *soukyngc* 123, *wepyngc* 1256). The ending *-inde* is found in no other MS. of the *Passion*.

B

This MS. appears to be generally South-western in character, although, as is to be expected in a late and composite MS. of the *South English Legendary*, it exhibits some confusion of dialectal forms. The characteristic writing of *ch* for *sch* (*chelle* 774, *chewe* 831, *chrewe* 779, *chame* 1494, &c.) resembles the usage in *William of Palerne*, which Skeat inclined to place in northern Gloucestershire.⁴² The complete form of the possessive (*Iudas his herte* 873, *lord his cloþis* 1502, &c.) is frequent in South-western texts after 1400.⁴³ *E* frequently occurs as representative of older *i* especially in verb forms (cf. no. 5 below).

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *ā* before a nasal > *a*, *o*, rarely *e*: *whan* 758, 1296, &c.; *þanne* 769, *þan* 792 (but *þen* 759); *man* 802 (but *mon* 293); *an*

⁴² E. E. T. S., Ext. Ser. I, xli.

⁴³ Cf. *New English Dictionary*, under *his* (4).

(prep.) 1041, 1080 (but *on* 751, 785); *mony* 1108, &c.; *eny* 1035, &c.

2. O.E. *ǣ* gives regularly *a*.

3. O.E. *ǣ* before *r* gives *a*, *e*: *wharby* 1006, *whar* 1111, *where* 1109, *er-þer* *1189-90.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* > *o*: *isold* 793, 836, 843; *sold* 1394; *solde-tolde* *779-80. Exception: *seld* 1404.

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, give rise to forms in *u*, *y* (*i*), *e*, for which it is impossible to find a consistent governing principle. These forms are as confused in the lines which are presumably scribal additions as in the remainder of the MS. We find *zut* 756, 1978 f, but *zit* 1491, 1957 a, e; *sulf* 76, *sulue* 1483, beside *self* 1473; *gulty* 1489, *gult* 1957 q, beside *gilt* 1972 e, 1982 p. *U* remains in the rimes *kunde-munde* *1563-4, but cf. *kynde* 1547, 1957 a, and *kende* 1962 b. *E* is regular in *cleped* 762 &c., *leþer* 785 &c., and in certain verb-forms: *wete* 749, *iwete* (riming with *iwryte*) *819, *neme* 765, &c., *nemeþ* 842, &c.

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is frequently *i* (*y*): *wordis* 805, *disciplis* 807, *fadir* 849, *lastyþ* 853, *axid* 780, *bestis* 1957 k (but *bestes* 1957 b), *þedir* 1957 p, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh* invariably.

8. Initial *f* occurs voiced and unvoiced: *uolle* 753, *vaste* *763, *1503, but *faste* *880; *vct* 886, 1530, but *fet* 880, 890; *fondyng*, *valle*, 1094.

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns: 3 sf. *þhe* 1514, *here* (poss.) 1513, *here* (acc.) 1518; 3 pl. *hy* 759, *here* 759, *hem* 773.

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-eþ*. Exception: *seche* *1148.

11. The suffix *-i* (*y*) is as a rule not retained. Exceptions: *louye* 980, 1003; *þolye* 1110.

12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly retained.

13. The pres. participle ends invariably in *-ynge*, *-inge*.

Ty

The dialect of *Alexis*, an originally Southern poem, in this MS. has been discussed by Horstmann⁴⁴ with results not notably different from those exhibited below. *Ty* is a South-western text showing Midland influence (cf. nos. 5, 6, below). Two instances occur of *ch* (characteristic of *B*) for *sch*: *chereborsday* 1066, 1067.

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *ǣ* before a nasal > *a*, *o* (*e*): *an* 1080, *anhonged* 1430; *on* 1450, *onhonged* 1675; *eny* 1465, &c.

2. O.E. *ae* > regularly *a*.

3. O.E. *āe* before *r* > *e* (*a*): *er* 923, 1189, &c.; *wher* 804, 1589, &c.; *ar* 1414.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* > *o*: *ysold-told* *23-4.

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, give usually *e*, infrequently *i* or *u*: *cherche* 2302, *þrefit* 1295, *helles* 1447, 1449 (but *hulle* 1079), *geltles* 1377, 1489, *gelty* 1489 (but *gult* 1341), *wetye* 1368; *lyte* 1139, &c., *synne* 1364, 1409, &c. (but *ysenned* 1389), *kynde-mynde* *1563-4 (but *kende* 1547, 1557), *which* 1598 (but *whuch* 1738); *luþer* 86, 826, &c. (but *leþer* 785), *ȝut* 1465, &c., *such* 1524, &c., *dude* 1364, &c., *stude* 1748 (but *stede* 809).

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is usually *e*, but *u* occurs frequently in inflectional endings of verbs, *i* in inflectional endings of nouns: *wakub* 1118, *slepup* 1118, 1119, *amendude* 1262, *clepude* 1324, *yclepud* 1258, *clepup* 1578; *godis* 1358, 1482, *wordis* 1468, *swerdis* 1158 (but *staues* in same line), *boffuttis* 1528, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh*.

8. O.E. initial *f* is not voiced.

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns: 3 sf. *hy* 9, 1514, &c., *here* (poss.) 1513, 1517, &c. (*hire* 10, *hure* 1508), *here* (acc.) 1269 (*hire* 1518, *hure* 1454); 3 pl. *hy* 1699, 1702, &c. (*þez* 1626, 1819), *hare* 1724, 1792, &c., *hem* 1703, 1705, &c.

⁴⁴ *Archiv*, lvi. 402-3.

10. The ending of the pres. indic. pl. is invariably *-eþ*.
11. The derivative suffix *-i* in verbs of the second weak conjugation (others by analogy) is regularly kept. Exceptions: *delyuere* 1345, *close* 1581.
12. The prefix *ge-* in forms of the verb is regularly kept, but there are several exceptions: *do* *1087, *1098, *1527, *told* *24, *went* 1895.
13. The present participle ends regularly in *-inge*.

T

This MS. marks the northern limit of the region to which extant texts of the *Southern Passion* belong. The results of virtually all the tests, as listed below, suggest a Midland provenience, and certain forms look toward the north. That *T* was copied from a MS. written farther to the south is suggested by a scribal correction in v. 852. *P* reads, *ar he were in his ffader ore*; *T* has, *or he wiþ his fadir wore*.

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *ǣ* before a nasal > *a*, *o*: *man*, 17, 51, &c., *manyc* 27, 40, &c., *whan* 130, 856; *ony* 51, 52, 1614, &c., *hom* (interrog. pron.) 1147.
2. O.E. *ǣ* > regularly *a*.
3. O.E. *ǣ* before *r* > regularly *e*, but instances occur of the Northern *ō*: *or* 796, 852, *wore* *852.
4. O.E. *a*, *ea*, before *-ld* > regularly *o*: *solde* 22, 34, *solde-tolde* *779-780. Exception: *seld* *23 (riming with *deld*).
5. O.E. *ū*, *u*, *ȳ*, *ȳ*, give almost invariably *i*, *y*, both in rimes and within the line: *kynde-mynde* *1563-4, *prite-lite* *907-08, *sinne* 452, &c., *ifilde* 10, &c. Examples of *u* are rare: *hulle* 150 (but *hil* 71, 1079), *hured* 236 (but *hire* 252). *E* is regular in *meche* 16, 25, &c., in *euyt* 18, 595, &c., in *selue* 26, 449, &c.
6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is almost invariably *i*: *anoyntid* 6, *wipid* 8, *makip* 13, &c. Exceptions: *comeþ* 15, *penes* 24, 775.
7. O.E. *hw* > invariably *wh*.
8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns are mixed Midland and Southern: 3 sf. *sche* 9, 174, &c.: *hire* (poss.) 1517, 1518 (*hir* 9), *hire* (acc.) 1518, 1898; 3 pl. *þei* 85, 1351, &c., *here* 325, 1386, &c., *hem* 246, 1552, &c.

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-e*, *-en* (*-in*): *slepe* 1119, *seke* 1119, 1148, *here* 1574; *makin* 113, *wiln* 798, 826, &c.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* is invariably lacking.

12. The prefix *ge-* has as a rule been dropped. Exceptions: *ifilde* 10, *ido* 20, 37, *igrede* 80, *imoued* 106, &c.

13. The present participle ends regularly in *-inge*.

L

The dialect of *Alexis* (Southern version) in this MS. also has been discussed by Horstmann.⁴⁵ As in the case of *Ty*, results yielded by *Alexis* hold in great part for the *Passion*. The language in both instances is generally Midland with some Southern usages retained and some influence from the North apparent.

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *ā* before a nasal > *a*, *o*: *þanne* 827, *whan* 919, 1223, &c., *wham* 1140 (but *whom* 1147); *on* (prep.) 1080, 1378, &c.

2. O.E. *ae* > regularly *a*: *hadde* 1199, 1204, &c. (*Alexis* has one instance of *hedde*).

3. O.E. *āe* before *r* > usually *e*, sometimes *a*, occasionally the Northern *o*: *þer* 2, *25, &c. (but *þar* 3), *where* 804 (but *whare* 1606), *er* 1394 (but *ar* 796); *or* 923.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea*, before *ld* > regularly *o*: *sold* 22, 34, *solde*-*tolde* *779-80. Exception: *seld* *23 (riming with *deld*).

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, > usually *i*, *y*, frequently *e* (as in *Alexis*). Forms in *u* appear in larger proportion, however, than in *Alexis*: *yfuld* 10, *much* 25, *luþer* 786, 1399, &c.; *suweþ* 803, &c.

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is invariably *e* (as in *Alexis*).

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh*.

8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

⁴⁵ *Archiv*, lvi. 402-3.

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns are mixed: 3 sf. *heo* 9 (*she* 1853, *sheo* 1855), *hire* (poss.) 1515, 1518 (*her* 9), *hire* (acc.) 1518, 1855, &c.; 3 pl. *bei* 812, 1289, *here* 815, 1286, *hem* 826, 1812, &c.

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-e*, rarely *-en* or *ep*: *slepe* 1119, *seke* 1119, *haue* 1357; *corsen* 1471; *naueþ* 1375.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* is invariably lacking. (*Alexis* has one instance of retention.)

12. The prefix *ge-* has in most cases fallen (as in *Alexis*). Exceptions: *yfuld* 10, *gsinged* 1389, *idempd* 1430, &c.

13. The present participle ends regularly in *-inge*.

A

The language of this MS. approximates English of the modern period more closely than does any other of the texts considered. There are virtually no instances of the double negative, and very few of contractions compounded of *ne* + auxiliary. Masculine and feminine pronouns, used with reference to inanimate objects, are in every case replaced by *it*; instead of *myd*, *ac*, *þo*, appear *with*, *but*, *then* (*when*); forms of *nimen* are replaced by corresponding forms of *taken*, except in rimes; the words *luþer*, *hoker*, are not found.

The dialect of the *Evangelie* in this MS. was examined by Dr. Gertrude Campbell, who describes the text as 'South Midland, from a region further south than the home of the original'.⁴⁶ Her results agree only in part with those offered by the *Passion*, the original home of which was certainly farther south than the region where *A* was written. Specially significant is the rime *Iude-bride* 2461-2.

(Phonology.)

1. O.E. *ǣ* before a nasal > *a*, (*o*, *e*): *þan* 761, 769, &c., *wham* 1140, 1147, *man* 1621, *many* 1627; *on* (prep.) 1080, &c., *onone* 1084, &c.; *when* 810, 1646, &c.

2. O.E. *ǣe* > *a*.

3. O.E. *āe* before *r* > invariably *e*: *bere* *25, *909, *er* *910, 1324, &c.

⁴⁶ *P.M.L.A.*, xxx. 529-613.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *-ld* > *o*: *solde* 22, 34, *solde-tolde* *779-80. Exception: *selde* *23 (riming with *deld*).

5. O.E. *u*, *û*, *y*, *ȳ* > *y*, *i*, seldom *e*, never *u*: *myche* 16, 1349, &c., *syluyr* 32, *iche* 816, 1304, &c., *kisse* 911, *kyn* 1351; *smered* 11, 19, *cleped* 772, 1258, &c., *self* 824, 1326, *trew* 826.

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is usually *i* (*y*), where the *Evangelie* has *u*: *makith* 13, 1290, *maistir* 762, *childir* 798, *delyuyr* 1317 (but *delyuered* 1350), *herkyn* 1328, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh*.

8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

(Morphology.)

9. Pronouns are mixed Midland and Southern: 3 sf. *she* 9, *hir* (poss.) 9, 1513, *hir* (acc.) 1518; 3 pl. *þei* 1471, *her* 1471, 1720 (but *þeire* 767; not found in the *Evangelie*), *hem* 1473, 1716.

10. The pres. indic. 3 pl. ends regularly in *e*: *slepe* 1119, *seke* 1119, *seche* 1148, *haue* 1322. *Eþ* is the rule in the *Evangelie*.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* is invariably lacking.

12. The prefix *ge-* is in no instance retained.

13. The pres. participle ends invariably in *-inge*.

IV

THE SOURCES OF THE *SOUTHERN PASSION*

THE interest of the *Southern Passion* from the point of view of sources lies in its comprehensive character and early date. The poem incorporates material from the Scriptures and from patristic writings at a period when this material had not yet become diffused and conventionalized in the vernacular; thus it illustrates a primary stage of the process through which the spirit and substance of medieval theology were transfused into the popular literature of devotion.

The works which supplied the author of the *Southern Passion* with the bulk of his material were two, the Vulgate and the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor. These sources, from which material was directly transferred, were supplemented by others drawn upon apparently from memory. Among these may be included almost with certainty sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugo of St. Victor; somewhat less certainly, treatises of Leo the Great, Abbé Robert of Tuy, and others. It is of course often impossible to determine whether the author had in mind an early authority such as Augustine or Jerome, or one of the later intermediaries through which their opinions passed into theological commonplace.

Resemblances with the *Legenda Aurea* compiled by Jacobus de Voragine are noted frequently in the following pages, but this work has not been cited as a source. In the first place, the resemblances are in virtually all cases duplicated in earlier works, especially in the *Historia Scholastica*, which we know to have been used by the author of the *Legenda Aurea*.¹ Moreover, although in its original form the *Legenda* probably antedated the *South English Legendary*, it appears to have been

¹ Cf. n. 20 below. Horstmann rejected the possibility that the *Legenda Aurea* served as a source for the *South English Legendary* (cf. *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, p. xlv).

a work which passed through several stages of revision, and grew by accretions;² hence we cannot be certain what portion of the work in the form in which we now have it might have been accessible to the author of the *Legendary*. It offers, of course, a striking analogue in general plan, and may indeed have inspired the compilation of the English work.

Of special significance to the question of patristic influence on medieval poetry are the correspondences relating the *Southern Passion* to the *Lignum Vitae* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*—the first an authentic work of St. Bonaventura, the second a widely known treatise formerly attributed to him, but excluded from the canon by modern critics.³ Both these works appear to have left characteristic impress upon the subject-matter of the poem; and the *Meditationes* further appears to have suggested the general lines on which the *Southern Passion* was composed.

Modern critical discussions of the authorship of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* would appear to interpose a serious chronological difficulty to regarding this treatise as a source for the *Southern Passion*. For Joannes de Caulibus, the author to whom the *Meditationes* is assigned by Peltier and other authorities,⁴

² Cf. Pierce Butler, *Legenda Aurea* (Johns Hopkins dissertation), Baltimore, 1899, p. 6.

³ Sbaralea objected to the attribution of the *Meditationes* to St. Bonaventura on the ground of its barbarous Latin and crudities of style (*Supplementum ad Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, 1806, p. 143). Peltier re-emphasized these objections, citing further ones which he regarded as warranting the exclusion of this treatise from the Bonaventura canon (ed. *Opera*, Paris, 1856-64, xii. xli-xliv; text of the *Meditationes* under *Spuria*, xiii. 510-630). The *Meditationes* was rejected by the editors of the Quaracchi edition (1882-1902), and was not printed by them. For criticism of this treatise, cf. x. 25; for table showing editions of Bonaventura's works which retain or reject the *Meditationes* (inter alia), i. xvi.

⁴ Peltier accepted this attribution (which was apparently first suggested by Bonelli in his *Prodromus*) with thorough confidence. After citing the statement of Bartholomew of Pisa in regard to the Franciscan convent at San Gimignano in Tuscany, 'de quo exiit oriundus Fr. Joannes de Caulibus magnus Praedicator, et devotus, qui Meditationes super Evangelia fecit pulchras', he notes certain allusions in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* which indicate that the author was acquainted with the topography of Tuscany, and connects him with the convent of San Gimignano by emending 'S. Germani' to read 'S. Gimigniani', in a passage defining the distance from Calvary to the city gate, 'quantum locus noster a porta sancti

belonged to the fourteenth instead of the thirteenth century—indeed the date given to him by Wadding is as late as 1376.⁵ The vexed question of the authorship of the *Meditationes* is one which does not directly concern us, and which it is impossible here to consider in detail. But whoever may have been the author of the *Meditationes*, positive evidence exists that the treatise was written long before the time of Joannes de Caulibus, if the date commonly assigned to him is correct. In the first place, Trinity College, Cambridge MS. 293 contains a portion of the *Meditationes* ‘quas scripsit Cardinalis Bonaventura’ in a hand described by James in his catalogue as of the early fourteenth century.⁶ Further, the work was known in England before the time of de Caulibus; witness the English translation in verse usually attributed to Robert of Brunne⁷ which is assigned to the early fourteenth century,⁸ irrespective of its possible connexion with him, on the ground of language.⁹

Germani’ (cap. lxxvii). The editors of the Quaracchi edition accept the attribution to de Caulibus with reservations (*Opera S. Bonaventura*, x. 25), noting that in some MSS. the words which Bonelli regarded as warranting the attribution are wanting. They reject Oudin’s suggestion that the author of the *Meditationes* was Cardinal Bonaventura of Padua, a contemporary of Petrarch.

⁵ *Annales Ordinis Minorum* (1783), viii. 333, under date 1376.

⁶ Obviously this cannot refer to Bonaventura of Padua (1332–89), since he was not elevated to the cardinalate until 1378, long after this MS. was written. St. Bonaventura (1221–74) would naturally have been referred to as ‘Cardinal’ (he was, it will be remembered, made Cardinal-Bishop of Albano in 1273) until his canonization in 1482 (the dates are those given by Chevalier, *Bio-Biographie*).

⁷ *Meditations of the Soper of our Lord*, ed. J. M. Cowper, *E. E. T. S.* 60. The period of Robert of Brunne is fixed by his *Handlyng Symne*, 1303, and *Chronicle*, 1342. Herbert (*Cat. Romances*, iii. 306) regards the attribution of the *Meditations* to Robert of Brunne as probable, although, following Peltier’s theory as to the authorship of the *Med. Vitae Christi*, he is doubtful ‘whether the original Latin can be referred to so early a date’ as Robert of Brunne’s.

⁸ Since my dissertation was written, Miss Margaret Deanesly has independently pointed out the significance of this metrical translation in its bearing on the date of the *Meditationes* (*The Gospel Harmony of Joannes de Caulibus or St. Bonaventura*, British Society for Franciscan Studies, x. 14). She has also noted the existence of the early fourteenth-century MS. Trin. Coll. Cambr. 293 in this connexion (p. 18, n. 4).

⁹ Wells, *Manual*, p. 358; cf. G. Hellmers, *Über die Sprache Robert Mannynge’s of Brunne*, Göttingen, 1885.

Some further confirmation is added by the statement of Dr. A. G. Little to the effect that the *Meditationes* was used by the author of the *Fasciculus Morum*, a work which he inclines to date about 1320.¹⁰ Evidently, then, the *Meditationes* was a work of the thirteenth century, and we are justified in bringing it forward as an available source for the *Southern Passion*.

A. *The Vulgate.*

For those portions of the *Southern Passion* which are immediately concerned with the life of Jesus, the Vulgate has supplied the entire substance, and, to a large extent, the phrasing. The poet adheres consistently to the canonical facts in recording the acts and words of the chief personages of the story. Although he takes frequent liberties with the order of events as recorded in the Gospels, he does not at any point attribute apocryphal deeds or utterances to Jesus or Mary. The language of this portion of the poem has apparently been transferred directly from the open page of the Vulgate, since it corresponds as a rule, even in minute details, with the Latin text. When the poet combines in his version of a situation passages from two or more of the Evangelistic accounts, he alters the phrasing, as a rule, only in so far as the form of his transition demands; one can sometimes follow his procedure in joining a half-verse from one gospel to a second half-verse in another. An exception to his customary practice of literal translation is to be found in the story of the trial before Pilate and the crucifixion, where, while taking few liberties with the basic facts, the translator frequently departs from the letter of the Vulgate. Again, the account of Pentecost and subsequent acts of the apostles to the first martyrdom is a free rendering of the Vulgate. Here the necessity of rapidly generalizing a number of events in order to lead to a conclusion involved abridging very considerably the substance of several chapters. With these exceptions, the language of the poem, in so far as it is concerned with the material of the Vulgate, is, as has been said, a faithful rendering of the Latin of the source.

¹⁰ *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917), p. 146.

SOURCES IN THE VULGATE.

Palm Sunday Eve: The Anointing of Jesus' Feet.

<i>S. P.</i>	Vulgate.
1-10	Joan. xii. 1-3
17-20	Matt. xxvi. 6; Marc. xiv. 3
21-22	Joan. xii. 4
23-24	Marc. xiv. 4 ^b -5
25-26	Joan. xii. 6
36-38	Matt. xxvi. 10-11; Joan. xii. 8
39	Joan. xii. 7
40-44	Joan. xii. 9-11

Palm Sunday: The Entry into Jerusalem and the Cleansing of the Temple.

45-58	Matt. xxi. 1-5
61, 63-64	Matt. xxi. 6-7
73-78	Matt. xxi. 8-9
79-82	Luc. xix. 39-40
91-101	Luc. xix. 41-44
105-114	Luc. xix. 45-47 ^a
115-126	Matt. xxi. 14-17

Monday: Acts and Discourses in Jerusalem.

139-155	Matt. xxi. 18-22
156	Marc. xi. 24
157-162	Marc. xi. 25-26
163-174	Marc. xii. 41-44
179-185 a	Joan. xii. 24-25 a
191-228	Joan. xii. 25 b-36

Tuesday: Parables and Discourse on Doomsday.

232-258	Matt. xxi. 33-42
264-268	Matt. xxi. 43-44
279-282	Matt. xxi. 45-46
283-296	Matt. xxii. 1-6
323-340	Matt. xxii. 7-14
345-350	Matt. xiii. 44
353-356	Matt. xiii. 45-46
361-367	Matt. xiii. 47-48
373-382	Matt. xiii. 49-52
383	Matt. xxiv. 1 a
385-388	Matt. xxiv. 1 b-2
391-398	Matt. xxiv. 3-5

<i>S. P.</i>	Vulgate.
401-403	Matt. xxiv. 6 ; Luc. xxi. 9
404-406	Matt. xxiv. 7 ; Luc. xxi. 10-11 a
407	Luc. xxi. 11 b
408-418	Matt. xxiv. 8-13
419-426	Luc. xxi. 12-19
427-428	Matt. xxiv. 21
429-436	Matt. xxiv. 17-18, 22, 24 ; Marc. xiii. 19-22
441-446	Luc. xxi. 25-26
452-466	Luc. xxi. 27-33
478-480	Matt. xxiv. 36
483-490	Matt. xxiv. 37-39
491-492	Matt. xxiv. 27
493-494	Matt. xxiv. 29
499-504	Matt. xxiv. 40-41
509-519	Marc. xiii. 33-37
522-530	Matt. xxiv. 42-44
531-538	Matt. xxv. 1-4
561-578	Matt. xxv. 5-13
611-620	Matt. xxv. 14-18
625-658	Matt. xxv. 19-30
675-702	Matt. xxv. 31-40
707-724	Matt. xxv. 41-46
747-751 a	Matt. xxvi. 1-2

Wednesday : Judas's Bargain with the Chief Priests.

759-766	Matt. xxvi. 3-5
771-777	Matt. xxvi. 14-16
778	Luc. xxii. 3

Thursday : The *Cena* ; the Capture ; Trials before Annas and Caiaphas ; Peter's Denial.

799-800	Marc. xiv. 12
801	Luc. xxii. 8
802-804	Marc. xiv. 13
805-824	Matt. xxvi. 18-25
829-834	Joan. xiii. 23-26
840-849	Matt. xxvi. 26-29
865	Joan. xiii. 27
867-906	Joan. xiii. 1-16
909	Joan. xiii. 30
911-912	Marc. xiv. 44
918-919	Matt. xxvi. 31
920-924	Matt. xxvi. 33-35

<i>S. P.</i>	<i>Vulgate.</i>
931-1004	Joan. xiv. 1-31
1017-1070	Joan. xvi. 23 b, xvii. 11 a
1077-1081	Luc. xxii. 39; Matt. xxvi. 36
1083-1089	Luc. xxii. 40 b-42
1091-1096	Matt. xxvi. 40-41; Marc. xiv. 40
1097-1098	Luc. xxii. 39, 42
1103-1104	Luc. xxii. 43-44
1107-1108	Luc. xxii. 44
1117-1119	Marc. xiv. 42.
1121-1130	Joan. xviii. 1-4 a
1131-1133	Matt. xxvi. 49-50 a
1134	Luc. xxii. 48 b
1139-1152	Joan. xviii. 4 b-9
1154-1155	Marc. xiv. 50
1157-1158	Matt. xxvi. 55 a
1159-1165	Matt. xvi. 51-53; Joan. xviii. 10-11
1168-1172	Marc. xiv. 51-52
1173-1174	Matt. xxvi. 58 a
1175-1180	Joan. xviii. 13 (expanded)
1181-1203	Joan. xviii. 15-23
1205-1206	Joan. xviii. 24
1207-1208	Matt. xxvi. 58
1209-1230	Matt. xxvi. 60-68 (free)
1239-1256	Matt. xxvi. 69-75; Marc. xiv. 66-72; Joan. xviii. 25-27

Friday: The Trial before Pilate; the Suicide of Judas; the Crucifixion; the Burial.

1273-1274	Matt. xxvii. 19
1275-1281	Joan. xviii. 28 (free)
1285-1288	Joan. xviii. 29
1289-1293	Luc. xxiii. 2 (free); Matt. xxvi. 61
1297-1313	Luc. xxiii. 3-12
1315-1317 a	Luc. xxiii. 14-16
1317 b-1318	Joan. xix. 12 a
1319-1322	Joan. xviii. 29-31
1323-1341	Joan. xviii. 33-38
1343-1348	Joan. xviii. 40, 39
1357-1364	Joan. xix. 7-11
1367-1375	Joan. xix. 12-15
1376-1380	Matt. xxvii. 24-25
1388-1395	Matt. xxvii. 3-5
1398	Act. i. 18
1413-1432	Matt. xxvii. 28-30; Marc. xv. 17-19; Joan. xix. 2-3

<i>S. P.</i>	Vulgate.
1433-1435	Matt. xxvii. 31 ; Marc. xv. 20
1436	Joan. xix. 17 (free)
1441-1447	Luc. xxiii. 27-30
1451-1454	Matt. xxvii. 32 ; Marc. xv. 21 ; Luc. xxiii. 26
1455-1462	Luc. xxiii. 33 (expanded)
1475-1478	Luc. xxiii. 34 a
1479-1484	Matt. xxvii. 39-43 ; Luc. xxiii. 35
1487-1491	Luc. xxiii. 39-43
1493-1504	Joan. xix. 23-24
1505-1512	Joan. xix. 25-27
1520-1521	Joan. xix. 28
1522-1523	Matt. xxvii. 34
1539-1540	Joan. xix. 30
1541-1545	Matt. xxvii. 45 ; Marc. xv. 33 ; Luc. xxiii. 44
1567-1570	Matt. xxvii. 46
1578-1579	Matt. xxvii. 47
1580-1582	Luc. xxiii. 46
1591-1594	Matt. xxviii. 51-52
1625-1626	Matt. xxviii. 54 (free)
1629-1637	Joan. xix. 31-34
1681-1688 a	Joan. xix. 38-40 ; detail from Matt. xxvii. 59
1695-1699	Luc. xxiii. 55
1701-1708	Luc. xxiii. 56

Saturday : The Appointing of the Watch.

1709-1718	Matt. xxvii. 62-65
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Easter Sunday : The Resurrection ; Explanation of the Feast of
Easter ; Five Appearances of Jesus.

1722	Matt. xxviii. 2 a (free)
1723-1725	Matt. xxvii. 53
1785-1801	Matt. xxviii. 1-4
1803 b-1809	Matt. xxviii. 11-15
1811-1820	Marc. xvi. 3-4
1827-1836	Marc. xvi. 5-7
1849-1854	Joan. xx. 1-2
1857-1898	Joan. xx. 3-18
1991-2000	Matt. xxviii. 8-10 (adapted)
2003-2004	Marc. xvi. 11 (adapted) ; Luc. xxiv. 11
2005-2008	Luc. xxiv. 12 a ; 1 Cor. xv. 5
2017-2080	Luc. xxiv. 13-35
2081-2089 a	Joan. xx. 19
2089 b-2115	Luc. xxiv. 36 b-47
2117-2118	Joan. xx. 22

<i>S. P.</i>	<i>Vulgate.</i>
2119	Joan. xx. 20 b
2120-2124	Joan. xx. 21 a-23
The Period between Easter and Ascension Day; Three Appearances.	
2125-2148	Joan. xx. 24-31
2169-2201	Joan. xxi. 1-11
2205-2213	Joan. xxi. 12-14
2221-2229	Joan. xxi. 15-17
2256-2263	Joan. xxi. 18-19 a
2275-2297 a	Joan. xxi. 19 b-24
2311-2324	Matt. xxviii. 16-20
Ascension Day: Two Appearances; The Ascension.	
2327-2339	Marc. xvi. 14-18
2369	Act. i. 3, 12
2370-2371	Matt. xxviii. 19-20 a
2375-2376	Act. i. 4
2379-2395	Luc. xxiv. 44-51
2401-2410	Act. i. 9-11
Pentecost: The Choosing of Matthias; the Gift of Tongues.	
2417-2422	Act. i. 12 (free)
2431-2440	Act. i. 13-14
2445-2456	Act. i. 15-26 (summarized)
2467-2492	Act. ii. 1-18, 37-40
Subsequent Acts of the Apostles; Healing of the Deformed Man; Martyrdom of Stephen.	
2495-2496	Act. ii. 45
2499-2512	Act. iii. 1-15
2513-2532	Act. iv. 1-26 (free abridgement)
2533-2540	Act. iv. 32-37
2541-2542	Act. vii. 59-60

B. *The Historia Scholastica.*

The narrative structure of the *Southern Passion* corresponds in general outline to that of the *Liber in Evangelia*, chapters cxxvi-cxxvi, of the *Historica Scholastica* of Peter Comestor.¹¹ In these chapters the story of the Passion week is organized into a chronicle of the events of each successive day,¹² and events subsequent to the Resurrection are presented as a series of ten

¹¹ Ed. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, cxcviii.

¹² The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* follows the same structural plan, but does not correspond in distribution of incident.

Apparitiones,¹³ followed by the Ascension and Pentecost. This is precisely the structural plan of the *Southern Passion*. Here, as in the *Liber in Evangelia*, the transition from one day's action to the next in the Passion week is clearly marked, and the sequence of *Apparitiones* corresponds to the arrangement of *Comestor*. The general chronology of incident is virtually the same throughout the two works, although the author of the *Passion* has occasionally disregarded *Comestor*'s judgement on a minor point, or made an arbitrary choice when the *Historia* presents two discrepant accounts. The poet's usual practice, in dealing with a situation of which there are conflicting accounts in the Gospels, is to select from all the Scriptural sources details which can be combined into a consistent narrative, disregarding those which offer chronological or other complications. When the order of events in the *Passion* is at variance with that in the *Liber in Evangelia*, the divergence is usually in the direction of some structural object, to supply direct motive for an act or to create a plausible transition. An instance in point is the placing of the account of Judas's remorse and suicide immediately after the pronouncement of the death sentence by Pilate (vv. 1387-88):—

Pilatus hem let al y-worpe, þo he hadde y-ziue his dom.

Iudas, þo he was y-dampned, gret dol to him nom.

Comestor had recorded the story at the point at which it is introduced in the Gospel of Matthew, after the Jews have led Jesus from Caiaphas to Pilate. Of the relation of the narrative structure of the *Passion* to that of the *Liber in Evangelia*, it may be said in general that the poet has adopted *Comestor*'s calendar, but has worked out, within the divisions therein indicated, the most plausible sequence of events consistent with all possible fullness of incident.

The bulk of the expository material in the poem, with the exception of the interpretation of parables, may also be directly referred to the *Historia Scholastica*. The latter work has frequently supplied the explanation of a point of ecclesiastical usage, as the reason why the Eucharistic wafer is made of

¹³ The same order is followed in the *Meditationes*. It was apparently traditional; cf. also the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of St. Edmund (Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, Lyons, 1707, xxv, fol. 324).

wheat; or has offered a descriptive detail relevant to the theme in hand, as the name of the pit to which Peter fled weeping, and the miraculous characteristics of the spot of ground from which Jesus ascended. Comestor offers little in the way of picturesque analogue, but when he does, the poet makes the most of the suggestion, as in explaining the scarcity of miracles nowadays on the ground that the plant of Christianity has taken solid root, and does not need to be watered with signs and wonders. The above instances are typical of the material selected from Comestor's somewhat ponderous work; his copious scholiae upon disputed dogmas and his laboured etymologies are consistently rejected. In some instances the passages in the *Historia* which parallel lines in the *Passion* are common to other works, or merely embody a commonplace of contemporary information; but the regularity with which the parallels come forward, together with the fact that these parallels often show close verbal correspondence, renders it virtually certain that the *Historia Scholastica* was the standard work of reference for the author of the *Southern Passion*.

List of parallels between the *Passion* and the
Historia Scholastica.

- vv. 11-16. The Pope absents himself from all services on Palm Sunday in order to dispense alms to the poor. This custom commemorates the act of the Magdalene.¹⁴ In *Evang. cap. cxvi.*¹⁵

¹⁴ Earlier and contemporary versions of the legend of the Magdalene agree in identifying her with Mary the sister of Martha, and with the 'peccatrix' who, in the account given by Luke of the 'first anointing' (Luc. vii. 36-50), anointed the feet of Jesus. Cf. the two Southern versions (ed. Horstmann, *Sammlung Alteng. Leg.*, pp. 148-62 and 163-70); the version in the *Northern Homily Collection* (Neue Folge, pp. 81-93); the Middle English prose version of Durham Cathedral MS. V. ii. 14 (ed. with Latin source by Zupitza, *Arch.* xci, pp. 207 ff.); and the (unprinted) poem in Royal MS. 17. C. XVII, fols. 103 a-107 b, beginning 'Forthe come on of the phariseus'. In the *Historia Scholastica* the woman who anoints is referred to merely as 'Maria'; in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* she is the Magdalene. The *Northern Passion* has 'Magdaleyne' (ed. cit. pp. 12-17); the *Cornish Passion* 'a woman' (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1860-1, Appendix, pp. 14-15). In the *Long Life* of Christ, related to the *Southern Passion*, it is 'Mary' who anoints; in the *Short Life*, 'a foule womman'.

¹⁵ Cf. also Alcuin, *Liber de Divinis Officiis*, *Patrol. Lat.* ci, col. 1200, and *Appendix ad Hugonis Opera Dogmatica*, *Patrol. Lat.* clxxvii, cols. 883-4.

- vv. 16-20. The feast which was held in Bethany six days before Easter took place in the house of Simon the Leper, who had been healed by Jesus. *In Evang.* cap. cxvi.
- vv. 31-35. Judas's wrath at the waste of the ointment led him to sell Jesus; he fixed the price of betrayal at thirty pence in order to indemnify himself for the loss of a tithe of the value of the ointment, which he had appraised at '300 pence'. *In Evang.* cap. clxviii.¹⁶
- vv. 45-126. The *Passion* follows the *Liber in Evangelia* in the order of events for Sunday, namely: the triumphal entry, the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the cleansing of the Temple.
- vv. 59-60. The apostles were sent to find an ass that was tied ready for poor men that had need of it. *In Evang.* cap. cxvii.
- v. 61. Peter and Philip were the two disciples who were sent on this mission. *In Evang.* cap. cxvii.
- vv. 83-86. Jesus' statement that if the children had not done him honour, the very stones would have honoured him, is explained as referring to the bursting of rocks at the Crucifixion, when the disciples, by fleeing, failed to honour Jesus. *In Evang.* cap. cxviii.
- vv. 135-38. The Passion week is called a week 'of penance and of pyne', because God laboured then as in the week when he made the world. *In Evang.* cap. cxix, Additio 2.
- vv. 139-228. The events recorded in the *Passion* as taking

¹⁶ Virtually the same explanation is given in the *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Graesse, 1846, pp. 185-6). For discussion of the life of Judas cf. Rand, 'Medieval Lives of Judas Iscariot' (*Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 305 ff.), and Baum, 'The Medieval Legend of Judas Iscariot' (*P. M. L. A.*, xxxi. 181 ff.). The price of betrayal is explained in the same way also in the *Vita Beatae Mariae et Salvatoris*, a poem in Latin septenaries belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century (ed. A. Vögtlein, Tübingen, 1888, vv. 4254-9). The motivation supplied in the thirteenth-century 'Ballad of Judas'—that the traitor sold Jesus for thirty pence in order to make up peculations from the common purse—seems not to have been perpetuated; cf. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, i. 242-4, who also gives full bibliography of the legend of Judas.

place on Monday are : (1) the miracle of the fig-tree ; (2) the incident of the widow's mite ; (3) the parable of the grain of wheat ; (4) the glorification ; (5) the discourse on working while there is light. In the *Historia*, the last three items only belong to the chronicle of Monday. The Evangelists offer conflicting testimony as to the time at which the cursing of the fig-tree took place ; Comestor, after comparing the accounts, leaves the question open, 'quia de facto non est questio, de die arbitrio legentis relinquimus'. In *Evang.* cap. cxvii.

vv. 189-90. The Eucharistic wafer is made of wheat, because it was to a grain of wheat that Jesus compared himself. In *Evang.* cap. cxxiv.

vv. 232-751. The portion of the *Passion* which is concerned with the events of Tuesday comprises a number of parables of the kingdom of heaven, and the discourse on the signs of Doomsday, the latter discourse including the parables of the ten virgins and of the talents. The order of material in the poem tallies with that in the *Historia*, except that the poet has substituted a series of parables from Matt. xiii for the material found in the *Historia* between the parables of the bridal feast and the discourse on Doomsday. This material included the argument with the Jews over tribute money and over marriage in the kingdom of heaven, and Jesus' denunciation of the Pharisees. It would appear that the poet varied from his model in this instance in order to bring forward matter of a more direct and practical ethical value, and more apposite to the theme in hand, than the passages which were rejected.

vv. 341-2. The words of Jesus, 'Many are called but few are chosen', are explained as referring to priests, who are ordained in large numbers, but who are in only a few instances worthy. This interpretation seems to be suggested by Comestor's inclusion of 'mali ecclesiastici' among those who will be cast into outer darkness. In *Evang.* cap. cxxviii.

vv. 481-2. Jesus did not know the day of doom, because he had the nature of man. In *Evang.* cap. cxlii. Comestor

indicates his source: 'Hieronymos respondit in minori breviario super psalmos, Humanitas filii dicit se ignorare finem mundi'.¹⁷

- vv. 733-4. To bury the dead is the seventh work of mercy. *In Evang.* cap. cxlv; Comestor cites Tob. cap. ii, xii.
- vv. 755-62. Jesus' words at the close of the discourse on Doomsday,

After two dayes 3e wyteþ wel þat Ester shal come,
are explained by the fact that the Passover began on the evening of Thursday. *In Evang.* cap. cxlvii.

- v. 759. Wednesday was the day on which Judas's bargain was made. *In Evang.* cap. clxviii.

- vv. 787-92. The price of betrayal was fixed at thirty pence because Judas wished to recover a tithe of the value of the wasted ointment. *In Evang.* cap. clxviii.¹⁸

- vv. 793-94. Wednesday is kept as a fast-day, to commemorate the fact that Jesus was betrayed on that day. *In Evang.* cap. clxviii.¹⁹

- vv. 855-58. When Jesus blessed the bread and wine, the elements became flesh and blood 'wiþ strengþe of þis wordes'. Cf. 'ex virtute horum verborum'. *In Evang.* cap. clii.

- v. 1168. St. John was the youth whose garment was torn from him by the Jews when he sought to flee. *In Evang.* cap. clvii; Comestor cites *Jerome super Psal.* xxxii, and adds, 'Videtur tamen potius opinando quam afirmando dixisse'.

- v. 1176. The Jews led Jesus first to Annas, 'ffor his court was in þe wey'. Cf. 'in transitu'. *In Evang.* cap. clvii.

- vv. 1222-3. When Jesus declared himself the Son of God, Caiaphas rent his clothes—

as gywes wollep by wone
whanne me spekep ouȝt aȝen hare god.

In Evang. cap. clx.

¹⁷ This should perhaps be regarded as an instance of liturgical influence; cf. § D following.

¹⁸ Cf. note 15 above.

¹⁹ Cf. *Leg. Aur.*, ed. cit., p. 154.

- vv. 1257-8. The pit to which Peter fled after his denial of Jesus is called the 'put of cokkes crowe'. Cf. 'in caveam quae modo Gallicantus appellatur'. *In Evang.* cap. clix.²⁰
- vv. 1259-70. The devil had always feared that Jesus was God's son, and dreaded the time when he should be overcome by the death of Jesus. When he heard Jesus confess himself, before Caiaphas, to be the son of God, he sought to prevent the design of the Jews from being carried out.

He þouȝte þat wymmen to ouercome esy ⁊ mylde were.
 To pilatus wif he com a-niȝt as hit were in metynge
 And radde hure to beo aboute Ihesu ffram depe to bringe.

Cf. 'Iam Dei nutu poterat cognoscere diabolus mysterium crucis, et ideo laborabat ne Christus moreretur'. *In Evang.* cap. clxvii.²¹

- vv. 1399-1400. Judas's soul could not escape, at his death, through his mouth, because his lips had treacherously kissed Jesus. It escaped, instead, through the opening made when his body burst asunder. *In Evang.* cap. clxii.²²

- vv. 1406-10. Judas offended more by his wanhope than by his betrayal of Jesus. *In Evang.* cap. clxii; Comestor cites *Jerome super Psal.* cviii.

- vv. 1497-98. The tunic upon which lots were cast is described as :

y-sowed myd no prede
 Ak wiþ þwonges of leþer.

In Evang. cap. clxxi.

²⁰ Cf. *Leg. Aur.*, p. 240 ; the author here cites the *Historia Scholastica* as his authority (so also on p. 234).

²¹ Cf. § C below, under discussion of the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux.

²² The legend concerning Judas's soul appears to be related to the ancient concept, shown by Dr. Louise Dudley to be of Coptic origin, of the 'soul's refusal to die' (cf. *Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul*, Bryn Mawr College Monograph Series, No. 8 (1911) ; see especially Appendix D). The outlet for the departing soul might traditionally be any one of the orifices of the body, most frequently the mouth ; but the soul might refuse to depart by some one of these openings on the ground that it had performed a good deed. In the case of Judas, although his kiss was treasonable, the lips which gave it were sanctified by their contact with Jesus (cf. *Leg. Aur.*, p. 186).

- vv. 1553-66. Great clerks in distant lands saw the eclipse which followed the Crucifixion, and did not understand it. St. Denis, who was in Athens at that time, explained it as follows:

Oper God poleþ dep in flesch, oper the wordles kunde
Is y-brouȝt up þe doune.

The brief summary of the story of Denis found in the *Liber in Evangelia* (cap. clxxv) is probably responsible for the presence of the allusion in the poem, but the details in the *Southern Passion* show that the poet was familiar with the legend.²³

- vv. 1571-3. The cry of Jesus from the cross, 'My God, why hast thou forsaken me?' is an expression of his grief because no one except the penitent thief appeared to believe in him. *In Evangl.* cap. clxxvi.
- vv. 1635-40. A blind knight, Longinus, thrust a spear into Jesus' side. Wiping his eyes with his blood-stained hand, he received his sight.

As in the case of the legend of Denis, a reference in the *Historia* may account for the presence, in the *Southern Passion*, of a well-known story. Comestor records the incident 'ut tradunt quidam', and does not refer to the centurion by name. *In Evang.* cap. clxxix.²⁴

- vv. 1691-4. Since the body of Jesus was found wrapped in a pure linen cloth, the Eucharistic wafer is always, according to a decree of Pope Sylvester, kept in a pure linen cloth. *In Evang.* cap. clxxx.
- vv. 1873-2124. The *Southern Passion* follows the *Liber in Evangelia* in chronicling the appearances of the risen Christ in the following order: (1) appearance to the Magdalene (after the three Maries have seen the angel); (2) appearance to the three Maries on the road to Jerusalem; (3) appearance to Peter; (4) appearance to Luke and Cleopas

²³ Cf. *Leg. Aur.*, p. 682 (*Historia Scholastica* again cited).

²⁴ A very brief version of the legend of Longinus stands in the *Leg. Aur.*, pp. 202-3. For a full discussion of the Longinus tradition, cf. Dr. Rose Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition*, Bryn Mawr College Monograph Series, No. 9 (1911).

on the way to Emmaus ; (5) appearance to the eleven in a closed room.

The poet has had some difficulty in adjusting the discrepant Scriptural accounts of the appearance to the women and to Mary Magdalene. According to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the three women go together to the tomb, and Mark adds, 'primo apparuit Magdalenae'. According to John, the Magdalene went alone to the sepulchre ; she saw first two angels, and later Jesus. The author of the *Passion* combines these two accounts by explaining that the Magdalene became separated from the other Maries, and as she remained at the sepulchre Jesus appeared to her. She then went to find the other women, and all went together to find the apostles. This explanation is brought in at a point where it might naturally have been suggested by a sentence of Comestor's, 'Venit autem Maria Magdalena jam credens, et inventis aliis, quae cum illa prius fuerant, ibant simul ad discipulos'. *In Evang.* cap. exc.

- vv. 1821-7. The sepulchre in which the body of Jesus was laid is described as follows :

Now was hit a manere hows þat god was ynne y-do
y-graued wyde in a roche, deep and muche þer-to
þat is y-cleped a monument ; in þe est half þe dore is
And þanne wiþynne þulke hous, in þe north ende y-wis,
Oure lordes sepulchre was ; and of þulke sulfe ston
þer nas non so hey aboute by þreo spanne 7 on.

With the exception of the point of the unusual height of the monument, this description corresponds closely with that in the *Liber in Evang.* cap. clxxxi. Comestor names as his source 'Beda Super Marcum'. The height of the sepulchre is, however, noted in the description (also derived from Bede) in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.²⁵

- vv. 2020-1. Emmaus was seven and a half miles from Jerusalem. *In Evang.* cap. exci.

- vv. 2260-72. The words of Jesus to Peter, 'cum autem

²⁵ Ed. Venice, 1756, cap. lxxxii : 'De hoc monumento dicit Beda : quod fuit domus rotunda, de subjacente rupe excisa, tantae altitudinis ut vix homo manu extenta culmen posset attingere,' &c.

senueris, extendes manus tuas, et alius te cinget, et ducet quo tu non vis', are explained as referring to the crucifixion of Peter. Cf. 'significans quia crucifigeretur'. In *Evang.* cap. cxcv. The phrase in the poem 'agen his flesches will', translates Comestor's 'nolens secundum sensum carnis'.

- vv. 2303-8. The words of Jesus with reference to John, 'Sic eum volo manere, donec veniam, quid ad te?' are interpreted as meaning that John should not die in martyrdom, but should end his life in peace. In *Evang.* cap. cxcvi.

- v. 2310. The scrap of moralizing—

ffor hit is betere deye her in goede dep
pan beo euer her in wo—

seems to have been suggested by a verse from Phil. i which is quoted by Comestor. In *Evang.* cap. cxcvi.

- vv. 2327-2410. The *Southern Passion* follows the *Liber in Evangelia* in recording two appearances for the day of the Ascension.

- vv. 2352-66. Miracles were performed in large numbers in the early days of the Church because the plant of Christianity had not yet taken root in men's hearts, and it was necessary to water the soil wherein it was planted with God's grace. Now that Christianity is firmly established, this need no longer exists; hence miracles are few. Nevertheless, they are vouchsafed occasionally, for grain, even when it has struck root, is in need of occasional watering. In *Evang.* cap. cxcvii.

- vv. 2411-12. On the hill from which the Ascension took place, a church now stands. It was impossible, however, to cover the spot of ground on which Jesus had stood; every stone laid thereon rose up and smote the head of the workman who had handled it. In *Act.* cap. v.²⁰

- vv. 2412 d-16. Every Thursday was formerly kept as a holy-day, in commemoration of the Ascension; but this custom had to be given up on account of the multiplicity of feast-days in the year. In *Act.* cap. vii.

²⁰ Cf. *Leg. Aur.*, p. 319; Sulpicius is here cited as authority.

vv. 2421-2. The distance from Mt. Olivet to Jerusalem, a 'Sabbath day's journey', was a thousand paces, the limit of the distance that a Jew was permitted to travel on the Sabbath. *In Act.* cap. vi.

C. Other Twelfth-Century Authorities.

1. HUGO OF ST. VICTOR

A number of the interpretations of parables²⁷ in the *Southern Passion* correspond in general outline to those in the *Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum* attributed to Hugo of St. Victor.²⁸

vv. 233-54, 308-22. Parable of the vineyard seized by the workers interpreted as referring to the crimes of the Jews, and the punishment of the race by the destruction of Jerusalem. *Allegoriae*, Lib. IV, cap. xxxi.²⁹

vv. 283-302, 323-44. Parable of the bridal feast; interpreted as referring to the Jews, who rejected the invitation of the prophets to avail themselves of the bliss of heaven. All the elements of this interpretation are to be found in the much more analytic discussion of Hugo, *Allegoriae*, Lib. II, cap. xxxii. Titus and Vespasian are here mentioned as the instruments of God's vengeance.

vv. 361-76. Parable of the net let down into the sea; the sea is the world, the net is preaching. Cf. *Allegoriae*, Lib. II, cap. xxvi.³⁰

vv. 531-603. Parable of the ten virgins; the wise are those Christians who do good for the sake of cultivating the grace of God and winning eternal life, the foolish are those who do good works for the sake of the world's approval. Cf. *Allegoriae*, Lib. II, cap. xxxiv.

²⁷ It has not seemed worth while to make exhaustive search for sources in dealing with this type of material.

²⁸ Ed. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* clxxv, col. 751 ff., under *Exegetica Dubia*.

²⁹ A similar interpretation is given by Augustine in *Sermones de Scripturis* (*Patrol. Lat.* xxxviii, col. 531). Augustine is the ultimate source also for the familiar explanation of the figure of Christ the corner-stone (*Southern Passion*, vv. 255-63); the two walls joined by Christ are the Jewish and the Christian law (*ibid.*, col. 544).

³⁰ Cf. also Bonaventura, *Determinationes inter questiones*, &c. (*Opera*, Rome, 1588, vii. 356, col. 1).

vv. 611-72. Parable of the talents: the five talents explained as the five wits; usury, the winning of souls to the church, &c. There are some parallels with the *Allegoriae*, Lib. II, cap. xxxv.

2. ABBÉ ROBERT OF TUY.

Although the Abbé Robert of Tuy is not a writer with whom the author of the *Southern Passion* might be expected to be familiar, the following parallel should be noted.

vv. 1837-48. There is a 'demaunde' why the resurrection angel, in bidding the Maries bear news of the resurrection to the apostles, singled out Peter by name. The first reason was lest Peter should despair, in consequence of his threefold denial. Again, Jesus directed the express mention of Peter—

ffor he hadde ordeyned þat he sholde beo
An heued of holy chirche; and þanne he sholde y-seo
How mylde god was to him, þey he him fforsoke,
And as mylde to beo to sunffol men and ensauple þerto toke.

These lines summarize with idiomatic brevity a passage from a discourse of Robert, which explains, not why Peter was named, but a closely related matter—why Jesus appeared to Peter sooner than to any other disciple.

Princeps quippe apostolorum Petrus destinatus fuerat. . . . Tale et tanta praeuente evangelicae veritatis auctoritate, Christianissimi imperatores post multa tempora, omnesque Ecclesiarum principes hoc censuerunt . . . ut sicut imperatori omnes praefecti vel iudices, sic beato Petro et secundum dignitatem ejus excellenti Romano pontifici caeteri subjecti sint Ecclesiarum pontifices. . . . Quando autem vel quomodo sciret homo positus in celsitudine honoris, in magna conscientia sanctitatis condescendere parvis, condolare miseris? . . . Oportebat igitur praedestinato atque vocato ad tantum celsitudinem. Petro apostolo causam subesse et magnitudinem honoris ejus praeire, unde humilitatis atque compassionis scientia jugiter posset accidere.³¹

³¹ *Patrol. Lat.* clxvii, col. 1638. The passage occurs in a sermon entitled 'Quod prius peccatrici quam apostolis, prius Petro qui eum negaverat quam Joanni quem diligebat Christus apparuit.' This discourse supplies also a possible source for vv. 1901-6 of the poem, which point out that in appearing first to the Magdalene Jesus showed great honour to women,

And to alle synffolle, ffor 3eo so synffol was.
We ne dorre beo in no wanhope þat synffolle beop
Whanne Jesus wole to vs wende, as we here y-seop.

In view of the obvious nature of the lessons suggested by the appearance

3. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

It would be matter for surprise if no trace of the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux were to be found in a thirteenth-century poem on the Passion. And in fact, although the sermons and meditations of Bernard have not affected the content or style of the *Southern Passion* to any marked extent, several passages in them have left their impression on the poem. The borrowings are made, not only from the rhetorical and lyrical prose which supplied themes and conventions for much religious verse of the period,³² but from scattered details of theological exposition.

The theology of Bernard has apparently determined the poet's view of the part played by the devil in the Passion, which is reflected in the following passage.

vv. 1259-70. The devil, who had always feared that Jesus was the son of God, had 'entyced' the Jews to destroy him ever since his birth, and with special zeal since his baptism. When, however, he heard Jesus confess himself before Caiaphas to be the Son of God, he 'amendede his pas', in fear of losing his power through the success of the plan of redemption. He regretted his former policy and sought for a means of delivering Jesus.

He pouzte þat wymmen to ouercome esy ⁊ mylde were.
 To pilatus wif he com anizt, as hit were in metynge
 And radde hure to beo aboute Ihesu ffram depe to bringe.
 Me pinkeþ þer he was his ffreond; ak blame habbe þat him
 þonk conne
 ffor he ne durste ȝulpe nouȝt þat he ouȝt þer-þorw wonne.

vv. 1479-86. The Jews' mocking speech to Jesus, 'If thou art the Son of God, bring thyself down from the cross', was

to the Magdalene, one can hardly assert a definite source for the above lines. The poet may have had in mind the series of five reasons for the honour shown the Magdalene which are in the *Legenda Aurea* (ed. cit., p. 239), which include that of giving encouragement to penitent sinners.

³² It appears to have been the doubtful rather than the canonical works of Bernard which most strongly influenced vernacular literature of the Passion. To avoid circumlocution, I refer to such works as the *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Christi* and *Lamentatio in Passionem* under the name of Bernard.

inspired by the devil, who wished, in order to protect his own power, to prevent the death of Jesus.

The notion that the devil appeared personally in the vision of Pilate's wife occurs in the Gospel of Nicodemus; in this version he disguised himself as an angel.³³ His exploitation of a woman to serve his ends is a variation of the Garden of Eden story.³⁴ These details illustrate, of course, almost invariable primary processes in the growth of a legend—amplification and transference of the original incident. A more significant aspect of the story of the vision is its relation to the matter of the devil's knowledge of the plan of redemption—a favourite theme of medieval speculation. Early theologians had assumed that the devil was in ignorance, even until after the crucifixion, of the Divine motive. Leo the Great (†461) wrote:

Hoc magnae pietatis sacramentum . . . diabolica superbia nesciebat. . . Sed quia hostem generis humani latebat consilium misericordiae Dei, . . . perstitit in eum furere, in quo nihil suum poterat invenire. Nam et malignitate ejus hoc magis potuisset prodesse si parceret, et se ab effusione ejus sanguinis abstinere, per quem omnium erat solvenda captivitas.³⁵

If he had not been deceived by the humility of Jesus in assuming human nature, the devil would have urged the Jews to clemency rather than hatred:

Qui ut humanum genus vinculis mortiferae praevaricationis absolveret, et saevienti diabolo potentiam suae majestatis occuluit, et

³³ Cf. the Middle English poetical version (ed. W. H. Hulme, *E. E. T. S.* 100), vv. 183–92; so also in the expanded version of the *Northern Passion* (ed. cit., introd., p. lxvi). The shorter form of the *Northern Passion* has 'a beast of hell'.

³⁴ Cf. the following passage from the *Fall and Passion* in MS. Harl. 913 (ed. Heuser, *Die Kildaregedichte*, Bonner Beitr. xiv, 108):

Whi com he raþer to Eve
þan he com to Adam?
Ichul þou telle, sires, beleve,
For womman is lef euer to man,
Womman mai turne man is wille.

A further extension of the theme may be noted in the Newcastle play of the *Flood*, in which the Devil goes to Noah's wife to urge her to deter Noah from building the ark (*Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*, E. E. T. S. Ext. Ser. civ, 22).

³⁵ *Patrol. Lat.* liv, col. 378.

infirmatatem nostrae humilitatis objecit. Si enim crudelis et superbus inimicus consilium misericordiae Dei nosse potuisset, Judaeorum animos mansuetudine potius temperare, quam injustis odiis studisset accendere.³⁶

Bernard represents the devil as apprehending the danger to his own power threatened by the death of Jesus, and taking measures to prevent it. The statement in the *Southern Passion* that the devil's change of policy dated from Jesus' confession of divinity in the presence of Caiaphas does not occur in Bernard; but the poem appears to have followed the Latin work closely in attributing both the vision of Pilate's wife and the taunting cry of the Jews to the machinations of the devil.

Alioquin quonam alio instigante misisse credimus uxorem Pilati ad ipsum, dicentem: *Nihil tibi et justo illi: multa enim passa sum hodie per visum propter eum?* (Matt. xxvii. 19). Timebat ergo jam tunc; sed nunc maxime virtute crucis enervari se sentiens inimicus, sera ducitur poenitentia: et quos instigavit ad crucifigendum, instigat ad suadendum ut de cruce descendat.³⁷

³⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 351; cf. also col. 344. The devil's failure to comprehend the mystery of the Incarnation is touched upon in the so-called *Geburt Jesu* (ed. Horstmann, *Allengl. Leg.*, p. 41). Here it is explained that it was necessary for Mary to be wedded to Joseph, in order that the devil might not know that a maid bore a child:

ȝif he it wuste, e wolde wite
ȝat hit were godes sone,
And habbe destourbed al þe dede
Of his swete passione.

With this may be compared another passage from the sermons of Leo: 'Hoc ipsum, autem, dilectissimi, quod Christus nasci elegit ex Virgine non apparet altissimae fuisse rationis ut scilicet natam humano generi salutem diabolus ignoraret, et spiritali latente conceptu, quem non alium videret quam alios, non aliter crederet natum esse quam caeteros' (*Patrol. Lat.* liv, col. 196).

³⁷ *Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiii, col. 276. An analytic discussion of the question whether the devil knew Christ to be the Son of God is given by Peter Abelard; it is entitled 'Quod Judaei vel daemones Christum cognoverint etiam ante passionem ejus et non'. The discourse (which, it may be noted, contains the well-known allusion to Christ's human nature as the 'bait' which induced the devil to swallow the 'hook' of his divinity) concludes as follows: 'Nam quamvis eum Filium Dei fuerat confessus (sc. diabolus), velut purum tamen illum hominem mori credidit ad cujus mortem Judaeorum persequentium animos concitavit. Sed in ipso traditionis ejus tempore tarde jam cognovisse intelligitur quod ipse illa

The curious locution 'one mannes son', translating 'filius hominis', occurs frequently in the *Southern Passion* (vv. 675, 1134, 1218, &c.). The basis for the phrase is doubtless a passage in a (possibly spurious) work of Bernard :

'Et bene, *Filius hominis*, et non *Hominum* : quia sine virili semine de pura et intemerata Virgine natus, de Patre sine matre in coelis est genitus,'³⁸

although the distinction here drawn has been imperfectly understood by the translator.

vv. 1907-22. The fealty of which women are capable is shown by the devotion of the Magdalene to Jesus. When his apostles and kinsmen—

In his sepulchre lete him beo, þey hi dreori were of þouȝte,
And lete him beo as ffreondles; þo Marie him souȝte.

A chapter in the *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Christi* attributed to Bernard bears the heading 'De Mariae Magdalene devotione in Christo requirendo, et ejus visione'. The author does not employ the Magdalene's devotion as an illustration of the fidelity of women in general, but the tenor of the chapter corresponds to that of the metrical passage. The thought of the following sentence is especially close to that of the lines quoted :

Non potuit amor tantus Christo etiam moriente mori ; fugientibus et latentibus viris, hoc est Apostolis, mulier imperterrita stabat ad monumentum plorans.³⁹

In other instances material is referable to Bernard among others. Certain passages attributed to him which stand in the *Legenda Aurea* are noted under § E below.

ejus morte puniretur. Unde et Pilati conjugium somniis terruit,' etc. (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxviii, cols. 1452-3). Abelard does not mention the taunt of the Jews as one of the devil's efforts to save Jesus, nor does Peter Comestor, who merely offers the statement 'Iam Dei nutu peterat cognoscere diabolus mysterium crucis, et ideo laborabat ne Christus moreretur', after recording the message sent by Pilate's wife. (Cf. p. lxvi, above.)

³⁸ *Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiv, col. 896 (under *Ogerii Opera*).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 765.

D. *Liturgy and Ritual.*

No sustained influence from the Liturgy is traceable in the *Southern Passion*, but one may note an occasional reflection of ritual, and echo of the language of the service-book. In some instances of influence from ecclesiastical usage, the *Historia Scholastica*, as has been noted, serves as medium.⁴⁰ The following material is not, however, touched upon by Comestor.

vv. 87-90. The silencing of the church bells at Tenebres, and the substitution of 'stones and claperes' as a means of summoning the congregation to church, are symbolic of the fact that at the time of the Passion, the apostles, the 'sompnours of holy church', were silent, but the stones which clave asunder did honour to Jesus.

The *Liber de Divinis Officiis* of Alcuin explains the silence of the bells as symbolic of the silence of the Apostles: 'Quia ordo praedicatorum tempore passionis siluit, reticetur sonus signorum atque campanarum. Pro hoc enim humilior sonus lignorum ad congregandum populum assumitur.'⁴¹

vv. 103-4. Jesus' prophecy in regard to Jerusalem, that 'one stone shall not remain upon another', was fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem by the armies of Titus and Vespasian.

The connexion between the theme of the destruction of Jerusalem and the events of the Passion season is emphasized in the Liturgy by the *Lectiones* appointed for Holy Week, selections from Jeremiah's prophecies of the destruction of the city.⁴²

v. 786. The term 'lupur chapman' applied to Judas may

⁴⁰ Cf. § B, notes on vv. 11-16, 189-90, 481-2, 1691-4.

⁴¹ *Patrol. Lat.* ci, col. 1205. According to another tradition, the wooden clapper symbolizes the wood of the cross (*App. ad Hugonis Opera Dogmatica*, *Patrol. Lat.* clxxvii, col. 890). The Schaff-Herzog *Real-Encyclopädie* explains the noise of the clapper as representing the clamorous confusion of Nature which attended the crucifixion.

⁴² Cf. Hereford *Breviarium* (Bradshaw Soc.), i, under 'Ebdomata Sancta'; also iii, xix. The connexion is explained in the homily for Palm Sunday in Mirk's *Festial*: 'Pus he þen prophesyet before of wracch þat after fell þat cite of Ierusalem for vengeans of hys deþe. þe which vengeans Ieremy þe prophit spekyþe in trenis þat is red þes þre dayes at Tenebrys' (ed. *E. E. T. S.*, Ext. Ser., xcvi, 122).

have been suggested by a *Responsio* for the third nocturne in Thursday of Holy Week, 'Judas mercator pessimus'.⁴³

vv. 929-1004, 1016-70. These two passages render discourses of Jesus, which, according to the Vulgate, were uttered at the *Cena*, but which were transferred by the author of the *Southern Passion* to Mt. Olivet. The use of these two portions of Scripture appears to have been suggested by the Breviary; they represent respectively the Gospel for SS. Philip and James's Day, and St. Mark's Day, and are thus introduced in the poem:

as þe gospel seiþ vs

Vp Seint Phelip ⁊ Iacob, þat bygunneþ þus;

and:

How we shulleþ ȝut wel do oure lord wisseþ vs

In þe gospel a seint Markes day . þat bygunneþ þus.⁴⁴

v. 1119. Jesus tells his disciples to wake for 'hi slepeþ nouȝt þat secheþ me'. The suggestion for this verse would seem to have come from a *Responsio* in the second nocturne on Thursday in Holy Week:

'Una hora non potuistis vigilare mecum qui exhortabimini mori pro me. Vel Judan non videtis quomodo non dormit sed festinat tradere me Judaeis.'⁴⁵

vv. 1811-16:

Marie Magdaleyne and hure ffelawes tweye

To seo oure lord as ich sede dude ham in þe weye.

So sore hi dradde þat hi nuste how hit fferde þere

And awaytede ffer and to, and ne durste go no nere

Ak ȝeode abak and stode stille, and suppe ȝeode ffor softe.

Ofte hi ȝeode softe fforþ and suppe wiþdrow ham ofte.

⁴³ Cf. Hereford *Breviarium*, ed. cit., i. 309; Sarum, ed. cit., col. dclxxvii; the same phrase also in *Med. Vitae Christi*, cap. lxxv. Cf. also Bernard, 'mercator nequam', *Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxiv, col. 882; the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, has 'a malo venditore' (*Patrol. Lat.*, xlii, col. 1128).

⁴⁴ The lessons designated in the poem as appointed for these two days (Joan. xiv. 1-31 and xvi. 23-xvii. 11; cf. Table of Sources in the Vulgate, p. lviii, above) approximate those appointed in the Hereford use. For SS. Philip and James (Joan. xiv. 1-13), cf. *Breviarium*, ed. cit., ii. 157; for St. Mark (Joan. xvi, emended by editor to xliii), *ibid.* 154. The Sarum use agrees for SS. Philip and James (cf. *Proprium Sanctorum*, ed. Proctor and Wordsworth, col. 267), but not for Mark.

⁴⁵ Cf. Hereford *Breviarium*, ed. cit., i. 309; Sarum, ed. cit., col. dclxxix; also Bernard, *Meditatio in Passionem* (*Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxiv, col. 743).

For the evidences of fear on the part of the Maries—stationing themselves at a distance from the monument, and venturing forth with hesitating step and withdrawing—the account of the Resurrection in the Vulgate affords no basis. These details of action may almost with certainty be referred to liturgical drama; they bear out with dramatic concreteness the rubric instructions for the Maries in the Easter play. The timid, wavering step of the women translates into action ‘pedetemptim’, in the well-known text of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the *Concordia Regularis* of St. Ethelwold:

Dumque tertium percelebratur responsorium residui tres se succedant, omnes quidem cappis induti turribula cum incensu manibus gestantes, ac pedetemptim ad similitudinem querentium quid veniant ante locum Sepulchri. Aguntur enim haec ad imitationem Angeli sedentis in monumento atque mulierum eum aromatibus venientum ut ungerent corpus Ihesu.⁴⁶

E. The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and the *Lignum Vitae*.

The *Meditationes Vitae Christi*⁴⁷ combines the qualities of meditation and sermon. The narrative as a whole is informed with feeling, and in occasional passages the writer dwells with lyric emphasis on some point of special appeal. At the same time, the effect on the audience⁴⁸ is continually kept in mind. The avowed object of the work is to bring before the reader the facts in the life of Jesus, and, explicitly, to induce men to meditate upon these facts. The work is described by its author as ‘*Meditatio carnalis*’, a meditation the subject of which is ‘*Haec . . . quae Dominus gessit in carne*’. Meditation upon the deeds of Jesus in the flesh is the first step, he explains, in

⁴⁶ The text is printed by Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 309.

⁴⁷ Citations from the *Meditationes* and the *Lignum Vitae* in the following pages refer to the edition printed at Venice in 1756 (see vols. xii and v respectively).

⁴⁸ The work in the form in which it appears in printed editions is, as has been recognized, addressed to a Poor Clare, but a general audience appears to have been kept in the writer’s mind.

the scale of mystic contemplation, the necessary approach to loftier communion with the Divine nature. 'Longe sublimius est, in spiritu intueri ad quae per hanc scalam pervenire poteris, sed in hac interim immorandum, de quo ait Bernardus'.⁴⁹ Repeatedly the reader is exhorted to fix his mind upon situations in the gospel narrative by such phrases as 'considera', 'intuere', &c. The purpose of the work is, then, not so much to record meditation, as to impress upon the reader the value of such meditation. In this homiletic character, the *Meditationes* is, of course, wholly set apart from such highly subjective meditations as those of Bernard and Anselm, works of impassioned personal devotion. In such a work as Bernard's *Sermo de Vita et Passione Domini*,⁵⁰ the appeal to the reader is not made through precept or direct admonition; it is inherent in the fervent expression of the writer's own feeling. The homiletic element of the *Meditationes* is increased by the bulk of 'moralitates et auctoritates' cited by the author—passages from Augustine, Bernard, and Peter Comestor, which afford explanation or background at various points; and by disquisitions on the active and contemplative life, on the process of meditation, &c. The emphasis of the treatise as a whole is so strongly didactic that the title *Meditationes* seems a misnomer.

This work appears to have influenced the *Southern Passion* in respect to purpose, method, temper, and details of expression more than any other single meditation or sermon. In the first place, the poem is cast in the same general mould as the *Meditationes*, that of commentated narrative interrupted with emotional apostrophe. This correspondence might not of itself carry weight, were it not that the *Meditationes* is literally unique among kindred works in presenting a day-by-day chronicle of

⁴⁹ Cap. xcix.

⁵⁰ *Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxiv, col. 955; for the same emotional mood cf. the *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini* (*ibid.*, cols. 741-69); *Lamentatio in Passionem Christi* (*ibid.*, cols. 769-71); *Liber de Passione Christi et doloribus matris eius* (*Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxii, cols. 1134-41); also Anselm, *Sermo de Passione Domini* (*Patrol. Lat.*, clviii, col. 675). The inspiration of the *Meditationes* came doubtless from Bernard, or works attributed to him, but his characteristic material is only occasionally reflected, and the fervent personal emotion of the earlier writer becomes in the *Meditationes* a didactic mysticism.

this twofold character for the Passion week.⁵¹ Since, moreover, to this general correspondence in structure may be added numerous resemblances of more limiting character amounting to a degree of likeness which is not paralleled in any other of the better-known Latin treatises on the Passion, it would appear that the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* supplied the general norm, although not a close model, for the *Southern Passion*.

It should be noted at this point that a large proportion of the actual subject-matter of the *Meditationes* does not appear in the *Southern Passion*. The narrative of the earlier life of Jesus is naturally not carried over into a story of the Passion week. Moreover, none of the speculative discussion found in the prose work finds a place in the poem, and the illustrative and expository material offers only a few parallels, in proportion to the quantity of this type of material in the *Meditationes*. That a few parallels of this type do come forward suggests that certain striking passages in the *Meditationes* had impressed themselves on the poet's memory, while the bulk of information was naturally forgotten. A second type of material which abounds in the portion of the *Meditationes* under discussion, but which does not appear in the poem, is the mass of apocryphal incident relating to the Blessed Virgin, and the laments over her sufferings. As has been said, the figure of Mary is given no prominence in the *Southern Passion*. Although her share in the sufferings of the Passion is presented with sympathy, the poet is not moved to outbursts of lamentation by the theme; the figure of Mary is definitely subordinated to that of Jesus. Lack of agreement between the poem and the *Meditationes* in this regard does not, however, militate against a theory of relationship between the two. The author of the *Southern Passion* seems to have reacted consistently against the influence of the cult of Mary, which could hardly have failed to reach him through other channels. It saturates other Latin treatments of the Passion, and dominates portions of the Liturgy.

On the whole it would seem that the poet had been impressed by the general purpose and method of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, and had evolved a highly simplified work on the same

⁵¹ The *Hist. Schol.*, while constructed on the same framework, has no passages of apostrophe or emotionalized reflection.

lines. Into this work were incorporated certain details of substance, and certain forms of expression characteristic of the *Meditationes* which had been retained in memory.

The *Lignum Vitae* has, much more clearly than the *Meditationes*, the character of a meditation. Its underlying purpose is, however, fundamentally the same—to place before the reader the facts in the life of Jesus in such form as will induce meditation upon them. The object, content, and plan of arrangement of the work can best be indicated by quoting from the preface to the edition of 1756 :

Ut Christi Domini vita, passioꝝ glorificatio menti, affectui ⁊ memoriae Christianorum infixae semper haereant, Bonaventura arborem excogitavit: quae duodecim expansa ramis frondibusque ac floribus pulchre ornata instar ligni Vitae mysterii de quo Joannes Apoc. 22 loquitur, fructum duodenum affert omne delectamentum, etc.⁵²

The *Lignum Vitae* consists of fifty short paragraphs, each of which is a meditation on some event in the life of Jesus, or on some aspect in which Christ was presented by the theology of the period. The general character of these may be indicated by the following paragraph headings: *Jesus praefiguratus*, *Jesus emissus coelitus*, *Jesus Maria natus*, *Jesus mortuus in cruce*, *Jesus victor magnificus*, *Jesus sponsus ornatus*, *Jesus finis optatus*. The plan of arrangement has obviously nothing in common with that of the *Meditationes*; the narrative is, moreover, very much briefer—mere summary in fact—and the element of exposition is by comparison negligible. The avowed object is, however, as has been noted, the same; and there are correspondences in phrasing in the portion dealing with the crucifixion, especially in passages of direct address to Jesus or to man.

It is only in those respects in which the *Lignum Vitae* corresponds to the *Meditationes*, namely in general objective, tone, and lyrical phraseology, that it corresponds also to the *Southern Passion*. In a few passages, the agreement of phrase is markedly closer between the *Lignum Vitae* and the poem than between the *Meditationes* and the poem. The *Meditationes* on the other hand exhibits large resemblances to the poem

⁵² So also in Peltier, who reprints the text of the Vatican edition of 1609.

which are not shared by the *Lignum Vitae*. The influence of the latter may therefore be regarded as auxiliary.

The detailed resemblances between the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, some of which involve also the *Lignum Vitae*, may be grouped as follows:

1. Explanatory comment on the narrative.
2. Graphic details of the narrative, and manner of presenting them.
3. The quality of feeling and form of expression in the laments.
4. The general theme of many of the laments.
5. The reproachful tone of addresses to the reader, and the phrasing of these addresses.

1. *Explanatory comment.*

vv. 837-8. Peter did not know, at the *Cena*, that Judas was the disciple who would betray Jesus, for, if he had known:

as hit is y-write

He him hadde anon myd his tep to-drawe and to-bite.

Cf. *M. V. C.*, cap. lxxiii: 'Petro autem Dominus non dixit, quia ut dicit Augustinus: si ipsum dixisset, dentibus proditorem discerpisset.'⁵³

v. 1438:

Ffor gret shennesse hi him made bere his owene dom.

Cf. *M. C. V.*, cap. lxxvii: (The Jews brought great shame upon Thee by making Thee the associate of thieves) 'sed et deterius faciunt, qui crucem vobis portandam imponunt, quod de latronibus ipsis non legitur.'

The shame of bearing the cross is rarely stressed in either Latin or English treatments of the Passion. These customarily dwell on the physical pain involved.⁵⁴

⁵³ Cf. Augustine, *Sermo in Cena*, *Patrol. Lat.* xl, col. 1285.

⁵⁴ A less close analogue may be cited from Bernard: 'Sub crucis onere dorsum incurvare videtur, et suam ipsius portare ignominiam' (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiv, col. 960). Cf. (pseudo)-Anselm, *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini* (*Patrol. Lat.* clix, col. 281), which laments the suffering involved in bearing the cross.

vv. 2159-68. Jesus allowed the marks of his wounds to remain for three reasons: that the apostles should have no cause for doubting the resurrection; that he might show the marks to his Father in heaven; and that he might confront evil-doers with them at the Day of Judgement.

Cf. *M. V. C.*, cap. xciv: 'Reservavit quoque sibi Dominus cicatrices vulnerum, maxime propter tria, scilicet ut faceret Apostolis fidem de sua Resurrectione, et ut ipsos ostendat Patri, quando vult placare eum, et interpellare pro nobis; est enim noster advocatus; et etiam ut eas monstret reprobris in die iudicii.'⁵⁵

2. Graphic detail.

The realistic colouring of the narrative of the crucifixion appears to be indebted at several points to the *Meditationes*. In the case of material given such general handling as the story of the Passion, coincidence in details of description might easily be the result of chance. It is worth noting, however, that in the parallels which follow, not only the concrete detail but the narrative manner corresponds.

vv. 1423 :

Sharpe and kene were þe þornes; hi wente to þe scolle.

M. V. C., cap. lxxvi: 'Perforabant namque caput ejus sacratissimum acerbissimae illae spinæ.'

vv. 1581-2:

—and þo closede his eye

And his heued heng adoun, and myd þat word gan to deye.

Cf. *M. V. C.*, cap. lxxix: 'Et ex tunc languere coepit more morientum, modo claudendo oculos, modo aperiendo, et caput inclinare.'

A very significant correspondence in this group is exhibited in the depiction of the crucifixion. The process is thus described in the *Southern Passion* (vv. 1459-61):

Laddren hi hadde on eyþer half; our lord up hi bere.

And henge him heyere þan eny þeof ich wene þat þo were.

Þorw eyþer hond hi smyte a nayl ⁊ þorw þe ffeet þe þridde.

⁵⁵ Cf. for the first and third 'reasons', Augustine, *De Symbolo*, *Patrol. Lat.* xl, col. 647 (the first also in *Sermo*, lxxxviii, *Patrol. Lat.* xxxviii, col. 539-40). The second may have been originally suggested by the famous passage in Augustine's *Liber Meditationum*, 'Respice in faciem Christi', etc. (*Patrol. Lat.* xl, col. 905-6). The author of the *Legenda Aurea*, citing Bede, notes five reasons (*ed. cit.*, p. 324).

The description in the *M. V. C.* is virtually identical (cap. lxxviii):

Hic modum crucis diligenter attende. Ponuntur duae scalae, una retrorsum ad brachium dextrum, alia ad sinistrum brachium, super quas malefici ascendunt cum clavis, et martellis. Ponitur etiam alia scala ex parte anteriori, attingens usque ad locum ubi debebant pedes affigi. Conspice nunc . . . compellitur Dominus Iesus ascendere per hanc scalam parvam, etc.

This correspondence is noteworthy because the *Meditationes* is unique among Latin treatises on the Passion in thus describing the mode of crucifixion, and the description found therein is repeated in English works only by the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditations of the Soper of our Lord* attributed to Robert of Brunne⁵⁶—the latter a paraphrase of part of the *Meditationes*. Gretser regards the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* as the ultimate authority for the notion of ‘upright crucifixion’.⁵⁷ The other concept, which envisages the cross as laid flat on the ground while the victim is nailed to it, then raised and jolted into place, is put forward as an alternative possibility in the *Meditationes*, but not sanctioned⁵⁸ (cap. lxxviii):

Sunt tamen quidam qui credunt, quod non hoc modo fuerit crucifixus, sed cruce extenta in terra, eum elevaverunt, et crucem fixerunt in terram. Quod si hoc magis placet, conspice, etc.

This method of the ‘prostrate crucifixion’ is the one given, with numerous accessory details, in the *Dialogus de Passione* of (pseudo)-Anselm.⁵⁹ This concept became, through the medium

⁵⁶ The method of upright crucifixion is also suggested in the English metrical version of the *Arms of the Passion*, by the reference to ‘ladders up set be enchesoun’ (*E. E. T. S.* 46, pp. 186–7). Ladders, however, do not figure in the *Arma Passionis* printed by Drèves (*Analecta Hymnica*, xxxi. 98).

⁵⁷ *Opera* (Ratisbon, 1734), vol. i, lib. i, cap. xxi ‘Modus crucifigendi, et num Christus humi an in sublimi sit suffixus cruci’. The opinion of Gretser is accepted by Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV au XVI Siècle* (Paris, 1903), pp. 92–3.

⁵⁸ This was noted by Roy (*op. cit.*, p. 93) in correcting the statement of Mâle (*L’Art Religieux du Moyen Âge*, p. 29), who had affirmed the convention of ‘prostrate crucifixion’ characteristic of the fifteenth century *mystères* to be due primarily to the influence of the *Meditationes*.

⁵⁹ *Patrol. Lat.* clix, col. 282.

of drama and otherwise, the picture of the crucifixion fixed in popular consciousness.

3. *Quality of feeling.* "

The tone of the emotional passages in the *Southern Passion* echoes that of the lyric exclamations in the prose pieces. The note common to both is one of sombre feeling, almost reflective; both have often the character of an emotional comment on some quality inherent in the situation which called them forth. The following are typical instances chosen from the group of brief lyric interjections.

v. 1349:

O Ihesus muchel was þe schame þat þe giewes þe wrouȝte.

M. V. C., cap. lxxvii: 'O bone Iesu! quantam verecundiam faciunt vobis isti vestri amici.'

v. 1671:

Namore shame þan hi dude . ne miȝte þe gywes þe do.

M. V. C., cap. lxxix: 'Maledictus eorum furor, quia pertinax,⁶⁰ et quantum poterant, nocuerunt.'

Rhetorical questions are frequent in both, as:

v. 1524:

O Ihesus, to al þin oþer wo whuch drinke þe was y-brouȝt,
and—

M. V. C., cap. lxxv: 'O Domine, ad quorum manus venisti.'

Although these parallels might individually be duplicated from other Latin pieces, they have value as indicating that the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* do not differ in characteristic intensity of feeling. Both are keyed lower than the ecstatic fervour of the *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem* of Bernard or the *Sermo de Passione* of Anselm, but higher than the level of homiletic prose. The same emotional tone may be noted in the longer lyric passages next to be discussed.

⁶⁰ The first words of this sentence (through 'pertinax') are taken from Bernard, *Sermo de Vita et Passione Domini* (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiv, col. 959).

4. *Themes and phrasing of emotional passages.*

In virtually every instance the emotional and reflective passages in the *Southern Passion* dwell on some detail of the Passion which has received special stress in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* or the *Lignum Vitae*. The homely simplicity of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, lacking all regal pomp 'cum esset Rex regum', the example of humility given by his washing the apostles' feet, the profoundly human Agony in Gethsemane, are in both the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditationes* presented with an appeal to the responsive sympathy of the hearer.

In the following passages also, although the material by which the theme is amplified has been attracted into it from various sources, the emphasis of the verses reproduces the emphasis in the prose meditations. These correspondences (which are on the whole stronger between the poem and the *Lignum Vitae* than between the poem and the *Meditationes*) are specially significant because non-Scriptural.

vv. 1524-40. The giving of the gall and vinegar represented the climax of physical agony. 'When all thy limbs had been injured except thy tongue, with which thy mother was commended to St. John, the Jews gave pain to that member also; they would allow no part of thy body to be free from suffering.' This was the consummation of the Passion:

þo þe gywes brouȝt oure lord galle and vinegre also
wel pytousliche oure lord sede, 'now hit is y-do'.

Lig. Vit. 'Joanne, qui praesens fuit, attestante, subintulit: Consummatum est, tamquam si in gustu aceti et fellis, totius amarissimae passionis consummata plenitudo consisteret.'⁶¹

M. V. C., cap. lxxix: 'Et cum illi maligni cogitare non possent, in quo ei plus nocerent: tamen vexandi novam materiam acceperunt. Unde dederunt ei bibere acetum mixtum cum felle.'

The phrasing of the metrical passage recalls neither of the above meditations, but rather a passage attributed to Bernard which is found in the *Legenda Aurea*. The *Southern Passion* follows the general plan of this passage in enumerating the

⁶¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 403, col. 1.

sufferings of one member after another. The following passages show especially close resemblance.

vv. 1531-2:

Pe ne byleuede no lyme unpyned bote þi tonge alone

Wiþ whan þou toke þi moder to him þat ne knew no wom-
manes mone.⁶²

Leg. Aur. 'Et quid plura? non remansit in eo nisi lingua ut . . .
matrem discipulo commendaret.'⁶³

The emphasis of the passage cited from Bernard is, however, different from that of the metrical passage in that the former represents the tongue to be the only member *preserved* from injury; the gall and vinegar are mentioned in the catalogue of sufferings, but not as affecting the tongue. The poet evidently had in mind the general method of this passage, and in part its phrasing, in developing the theme suggested by the *Meditationes* or *Lignum Vitae*.

vv. 1645-70. This passage is a meditation on the spear-thrust. The general theme is: 'Thou hast shed every drop of blood, in order that our redemption might be complete.' This is developed as follows: 'A man has three kinds of blood; the first is between the "flesch and ffeel", the second in the veins, the third in the heart, the "more of lyue". The first kind was brought out by the flagellation, the second by the thorns and nails (for every vein in the body ends in the head, hands, or feet), and the third by the spear-thrust.'

The theme, the securing of complete redemption by successive sheddings of blood, occurs in the following passage in the *Lignum Vitae*, although here the series is slightly different.

Cruentatus enim Christus Dominus sanguine proprio, primum sanguineo sudore, secundo flagellis, dehinc spinarum aculeis, post clavis, et tandem lancea, copiose effuso, ut apud Deum esset copiosa redemptio.⁶⁴

⁶² Only MSS. in Group π have this reading, which refers of course to the tradition of St. John's virginity. MSS. in Group τ read variously 'to seint Iohne' and 'in þe warde of seint Iohn'.

⁶³ *Ed. cit.*, p. 226.

⁶⁴ *Ed. cit.*, p. 404, col. 1 (ed. Peltier, xii. 78). Virtually the same list is quoted by Bernard (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiv, col. 779), but with a different bearing.

With this general notion the author of the *Southern Passion* has (as in the preceding instance) fused a concrete series of details found in the *Legenda Aurea*. A passage in the latter work describes the effort of the Jews to destroy the seat of life by injury to the three parts of the body to which medieval philosophy had assigned it—the whole surface of the body, the head, and the heart.

Hanc triplicem opinionem iudei saltem ipso facto videntur sciuisse. Nam ut eius animam a corpore auellerent, quaesierunt ipsam in capite cum spinas usquam ad cerebrum infixerunt; quaesierunt in sanguine cum eius venas in manibus et pedibus aperuerunt, quaesierunt in corde cum eius latus perforauerunt.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ *Ed. cit.*, p. 227. The substitution of three kinds of blood for three locations of the seat of life may be a popular perversion of the schoolmen's science. A suggestive parallel is found in ballad literature. The familiar ballad of Hugh of Lincoln thus describes the death of the Christian boy stabbed by the Jewish woman (cf. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, iii. 242):

Then out and cam the thick thick blude,
Then out and cam the thin,
Then out and cam the bonny heart's blude,
Where a' the life lay in.

The analogue gains point from the fact that, according to the popular belief in regard to Jewish ritual murders, the tortures inflicted upon the victim reproduced the tortures suffered by Christ. The ballad in its written form is of course much later than the *Southern Passion*, but it may be assumed that the oral tradition would have arisen soon after the death of Hugh of Lincoln in 1255. In other versions the last line reads:

There was nae mair within.

This parallels v. 1670 of the *Southern Passion*:

And þou for vs ʒeue euerich drope, þat per byleuede nouȝt.

The same notion occurs in a thirteenth-century English poem on the Passion (ed. Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* ix. 46):

Blod and water out þer drof
Moste no þing leue wiȝinne,

and is found frequently later. For the point that all the veins in the body end in the head, hands, and feet, the poet may have drawn upon his memory of some such treatise as Albertus Magnus's *Tractatus I De Anatomia Venarum et Sanguinis et de Origine Istorum Duorum, et de Origine Nervorum*. Albertus defends the opinion of Aristotle that the seat of life, from which the veins take rise, is the heart, and traces the course of the veins, as charted by various ancient anatomists, to the extremities. (*Opera*, ed. Borgnet, 1890-9, xii. 201, 223.)

5. Hortatory tone.

The relation of writer to audience is the same in the poem and in the two prose pieces. The didactic intention of the *Lignum Vitae* is less obtrusive than that of the *Meditationes*; but common to both of these and to the *Southern Passion* is a note of reproachful exhortation. It must of course be admitted that the influences which would have determined the tone of the poem were indefinable and encompassing. The spirit of religious instruction was in the air, and the extent to which a work of the period would be affected by current homiletic mannerisms cannot be measured. At the same time, the similarity in the direct appeal to the reader, in the works under consideration, is too marked to be neglected. The mood in which the two Latin works are conceived—that of urgent desire to move men to sympathetic meditation—is reflected in the poem in passages such as the following (vv. 1599–600):

pi lord deyep in strong pyne, and in so strong depe
ffor pe, and pou þat art his lyme sory art unnepe.

The *Lignum Vitae* offers an exact prototype, in such phrases as 'tu perditte homo' and 'tu homo redempte' for the apostrophes to 'man'⁶⁶ characteristic of the portion of the *Southern Passion* dealing with the Crucifixion. There are close correspondences also in appeals framed as rhetorical questions, as the following:

v. 1583:

O Ihesu, who may þis y-hure wipoute wop of heorte.

Lig. Vit. 'O verax dulcis et pie Jesu, quatenus anima tibi devota haec videns et audiens possit se continere a lacrymis et intimae passionis occultare dolorem.'⁶⁷

Not only the tone but the very phrasing of the *Lignum Vitae* are reproduced in the *Passion* in the passage relating to the phenomena in nature attending the crucifixion (vv. 1547–50, 1587–98):

De sonne was blak, hit was eclyps, aȝen his kunde ynow;
Ne myȝte þe sonne shyne no leng þo he to depe drow.

⁶⁶ There are scattered instances of such apostrophe in the writings of Bernard, but none which exhibit verbal parallel with the poem.

⁶⁷ *Ed. cit.*, p. 401, col. 1 (ed. Peltier, xii. 75).

Lute wonder me þinkeþ hit was þey ȝeo ne miȝte shyne
Whanne þe Mayster of sonne 7 Mone polede her such pyne.⁶⁵

þe eorþe ne miȝte bere þi dep; þat is þing wiþoute rede,
þat ȝeo grisliche ne quakede, as who seiþ for drede.
Allas, man, wher is þin heorte? how miȝtow hure þis
Bote þou quake ffor sorwe? gret deol of þe hit is;
Ffor treos ne stones ne polede nouȝt þat his heorte breke atwo,
Aboute þe stede in many places þat hi ne to-borste al-so.
Cloþes þat in þe temple were to-cloue al-so a-mydd;e;
Dede mennes þrowes to-borste ek, as merci for to bydde.
O Ihesu, hard was þi dep whanne harde treos 7 stones
To-borste þo þin heorte to-brak, and þrowes of Mannes bones.
Man, how miȝtou þis yhure, þat þin heorte ne brekeþ anon?
Allas, Man, whuch is þin heorte? hardour þan eny ston!

Lig. Vit. 'Denique cum agnus innocens, qui & verus justitiæ sol
trium horarum spatio perpendisset in cruce, & eodem tempore sol
iste visibilis factori suo compatiens lucis suæ radios occultasset, jam
omnibus consummatis . . . expiravit . . . Considera & tu homo re-
dempte, quis, qualis, & quantus est ille, qui pro te pendet in cruce:
cujus mors vivificat mortuos, & cujus transitum & caelum luget, &
terra, & lapides duri quasi naturali compassione sciunduntur (*sic*).
O cor humanum omni lapidum durtia durius! si ad tanti com-
mémorationem piaculi, nec terrore concuteris, nec compassione
afficeris, nec compunctione scinderis, nec pietate molliris.' ⁶⁹

⁶⁵ The two lines following read:

þe Mone wiþdrow hure liȝt al-so, and non on eorþe sende,
Ffor ȝeo nolde shyne on ham þat oure lord so ffoule shende.

The reading 'mone' in v. 1541 is characteristic of MSS. in Group π; in Group τ the line reads 'þe sonne wiþdrouȝ', &c. For an eclipse of the moon, interpreted as a reproach to the tormentors of Jesus, I find no patristic authority. Parallels, however, with other English texts may be noted. The *Passion of our Lord* in the Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS. has (v. 479): 'þe sonne bileuede hire lyht and þe mone al so' (*E. E. T. S.* 49, p. 50); cf. also 'þe sunne and moone losten þer light' in *The Deuelis Perlament*, v. 225 (*E. E. T. S.* 24, p. 48).

Applied to an eclipse of the sun, however, the interpretation of the eclipse which stands in v. 1452 may be referred to Jerome. Cf. Gretser (*ed. cit.*, i, lib. i, cap. xxxi): 'Videtur mihi, inquit sanctus Hieronymus, clarissimum lumen mundi . . . retraxisse radios suos, ne aut pendentem videret Dominum aut impii blasphemantes sua luce fruerentur.' This passage I have been unable to find in the works of Jerome, who states, however, in the *Commentarium in Amos*: 'Sol hora sexta retraxit radios suos et pendentem in cruce Dominum suum spectare non ausus est' (*Patrol. Lat.* xxv, col. 1082).

⁶⁹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 403, col. 2 (*Peltier*, xii. 77-8). A less exact parallel is

The appeal is echoed in the *Meditationes*: 'Si hic non compateris, cor lapideum puta te habere' (cap. lxxvi).

The resemblances between the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and the *Southern Passion* when taken together⁷⁰ appear to establish the dependence of the English poem upon this treatise. The recognition of this dependence modifies in two respects current opinion in regard to the *Meditationes*.

In the first place, the date of this treatise is pushed back several decades earlier than the commonly accepted limit; in fact it is restored to a period close to that of St. Bonaventura himself. The authenticity of the treatise cannot, of course, be affirmed, without undertaking a critical investigation far beyond the limits of the present study, for it is to be noted that sceptical opinion as to St. Bonaventura's authorship has leaned heavily on evidence of language and style, but has neglected to study the wide variation which exists among the numerous manuscripts of the *Meditationes*.⁷¹ Nevertheless, by restoring this treatise to the period of St. Bonaventura—who for centuries was universally regarded as its author⁷²—a heavier burden of proof is laid upon those who question his title to the

furnished by a passage from Ambrose, *Expositio Evang. sec. Luc.*, lib. x, which apostrophizes the 'hard hearts' of the Jews: 'O duriora pectora Judaeorum! Finduntur petrae, sed horum corda obdurantur. Iudex arguit, elementa fugiunt, terra concutitur, monumenta reserantur. Judaeorum tamen immobilis duritia manet orbe concusso' (*Patrol. Lat.* xv, col. 1836). The often-quoted passage from Bernard, 'O Iudei, lapides estis, sed lapidem percutitis molliorem' (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiii, col. 268), is perhaps derived from this. Cf. also (pseudo)-Anselm, *Patrol. Lat.* clx, col. 183. A somewhat similar passage occurs in the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* (*Patrol. Lat.* xlii, col. 1127), but the phenomena attending the crucifixion here serve a different purpose; the terror experienced by the created universe ('omnis pene creatura expavescit mortem Christi') is contrasted with the blindness of the Jews.

⁷⁰ In addition to citations made under § E, cf. notes 12, 14, 25, 44 above.

⁷¹ The editors of the Quaracchi edition noted that these MSS. 'valde inter se differunt, ita ut difficile sit, originale opus a transformatis et auctis discernere' (x. 25). A critical edition based on exhaustive collation of the MSS. is of course pre-requisite to any reasonable investigation of authorship.

⁷² Miss Deanesly has pointed out that all the English MSS. of the *Meditationes* which she has examined—a considerable number—assign the work to St. Bonaventura (*op. cit.*, p. 13). This circumstance has perhaps more weight than Miss Deanesly attaches to it.

work. And in considering his claims one should note also the association of the authentic *Lignum Vitae* with the *Meditationes* as joint sources for the *Southern Passion*.

In the second place, the relation between the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* illuminates an aspect of the latter work which has been largely obscured in the eyes of modern students.

The elements of the work which are often regarded as of specially potent influence on later vernacular literature are the portion devoted to the sufferings of Mary,⁷³ which is thought to have widely affected the Marian laments, and the description of the 'prostrate crucifixion', which has been credited with supplying the accessory horrors in the usual narrative and dramatic treatments of the crucifixion. But these opinions pervert the original emphasis of the work. Whether by Bonaventura or not, the *Meditationes* is clearly of his school; and the teaching of Bonaventura in the matter of Mariolatry is quite explicit. The following is a characteristic utterance:

Etsi Mater habenda sit in reverentia et magna erga ipsam habenda sit devotio, multo maior tamen est habenda erga Filium, ex quo est ei omnis honoret gloria.⁷⁴

The description of the 'prostrate crucifixion' which displaced in popular tradition the concept of 'upright crucifixion' was, as has been noted, not sanctioned by the author of the *Meditationes*. In both these matters the *Southern Passion* is true to the inspiration of its original, as also in reflecting its disciplined mood and explicitly social aim. It preserves, in fact, the fundamental character of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*—that of a conscious interpreter of the ideal of sympathetic meditation and an instrument of the practical tendency of thirteenth-century mysticism.

⁷³ It is of course impossible to say how much of this material has been added in recensions of the original.

⁷⁴ Cited in the critical discussion of Bonaventura's writings under 'De indole et speciali charactere Bonaventuranae doctrinae', Quaracchi ed., x. 32.

V

THE SOUTH ENGLISH LEGENDARY AND THE FRIARS

THE *South English Legendary* is, for us, an anonymous work. The tradition which, in the early stages of modern interest in the collection, attributed it to Robert of Gloucester is now generally discredited.¹ At the same time, the influence of this tradition persists in the tendency on the part of scholars to regard the *Legendary* as a product of the Abbey of St. Peter's at Gloucester.² The dependence, which has long been recognized,

¹ Robert of Gloucester's authorship of the *Legendary* was first suggested in 1828 by Sir Frederick Madden (*Havelok*, ed. Roxburghe Club, p. iii), who based his 'conjecture' upon 'identity of style' in the *Legendary* and the *Chronicle*. W. H. Black in 1845 entered the *Legendary* under Robert's name in his Catalogue of Ashmole MSS. (No. 43; cf. also 1115, Art. 3), and in editing the 'Life of Thomas of Canterbury' from the *Legendary* reaffirms the theory on the ground that portions of this *Life* were used in the *Chronicle* (*Thomas Beket*, Percy Soc., xix, 1845, pp. vii-xiii). Skeat in 1868, in his edition of *Havelok* (*E. E. T. S.*, Ext. Ser. IV, p. xxxv), reiterated Madden's opinion that Robert was the author of the *Legendary*. Later scholars, however, have regarded this theory with less favour. Horstmann, who considered the *Legendary* as the product of a group, assigned to Robert an undefined share in it (*Alteng. Leg.*, Neue Folge, p. xlv): W. Ellmer believed that he was the author of *Kenelm* only (*Anglia*, x, 321-2). W. Aldis Wright denied in forcible terms that Robert of Gloucester had any share in the composition of the *Legendary* (*Chronicle*, ed. Rolls Series, Introd., p. xxxix). Of more recent critics, Professor Gerould thinks the evidence insufficient to determine 'whether the Chronicler and any legend writer are one' (*Saints' Legends*, p. 161). Wells states that the 'Southern collection of *Saints' Lives* sometimes ascribed to Robert of Gloucester are not his . . . although it is quite possible that he had some connection with some of the pieces' (*Manual*, pp. 197-8).

² Cf. Horstmann, Gerould, *loc. cit.*; Wright, Introd., p. xxxix; also Wells: 'the enterprise probably originated among the monks at Gloucester, or at least became defined and developed at Gloucester' (*Manual*, p. 293).

of Robert's³ *Chronicle* on several of the *Vitae* in the *Legendary*,⁴ does not, of course, necessarily imply that the two works were composed under the same conditions.⁵ With this factor set aside, the association of the *Legendary* with the Abbey of Gloucester is to a certain extent warranted on the side of geographical provenience by the evidence of dialect, although this cannot, of course, describe limits about a precise locality, and, as has been noted, certain allusions in the *Legendary* appear to point to Somersetshire as its home.⁶ The complementary part of the assumption—that the *Legendary* must of necessity have been composed in a monastic house—I propose to examine in the following pages.

At first glance, the theory which assigns the composition of the *Legendary* to a house of monks appears plausible enough. On the score of offering facilities for composition, the typical thirteenth-century monastery fulfils every practical requirement

³ There is, of course, no conclusive proof that the author who placed himself on record in his *Chronicle* (v. 11749) as 'Robert þat verst þis boc made' was a monk of Gloucester Abbey. The tradition has, however, old roots. (For a discussion of its growth, cf. Wright, *Introd. to the Chronicle*, pp. v-vii.) Tanner (*Bibl. Britann.*) records only 'Robertus Glocestrensis poeta et historicus Anglus', but Thomas Hearne, editing the *Chronicle* in 1724, had so definite an image of Robert the monk that he speculated on his conjectural University career, lodging him in the old Benedictine 'College of Gloucester' at Oxford. Wright himself in a rare moment of indifference to logic says, 'From the dialect in which he [the author of the *Chronicle*] wrote, he was probably a Gloucestershire monk' (p. vii). The assumption that Robert, author of the *Chronicle*, was a monk is of course reasonable, since the compiling of chronicles had long been a characteristic monastic activity.

⁴ The correspondences noted by early scholars, with some additions, are recorded by Ellmer, *op. cit.* Both Horstmann and Ellmer had regarded the relation between the *S. E. L.* and the *Chronicle* as one of mutual dependence, as they assumed a passage in *Kenelm* to have been borrowed from the *Chronicle*. Evidence, however, which makes it clear that Robert was the borrower in this as in other instances, I am printing elsewhere ('Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* and the *Life of St. Kenelm*' to appear in *Modern Language Notes* for Jan. 1926). Dependence on the part of Robert does not, of course, imply markedly close association between the two works.

⁵ It emphasizes, of course, the general south-western provenience common to the *S. E. L.* and the *Chronicle* which has long been accepted on grounds of dialect.

⁶ Cf. pp. xxxii-xxxv above.

—library, scriptorium, a group of educated persons with leisure at command. But the matter cannot rest with the abstract suitability of *milieu*, and in the content of the *Legendary* itself we find material obstacles in the way of the theory of monastic authorship. The difficulty that presents itself is briefly this: the *South English Legendary* appears to have been written for a purpose which is not historically consistent with any of the known activities of a thirteenth-century monastic house.

How, in the first place, are we to define the purpose of the *Legendary*? In general terms the work was, of course, intended to disseminate a knowledge of sacred narratives illustrating the teachings of the Church. But what audience and what conditions of presentation had its author in mind? That it was not, as Professor Gerould has suggested, 'intended to provide selections suitable for post-prandial reading in conventual refectories'⁷ is clear from numerous passages, especially in the *Passion*, which exhort the listeners to live up to their duties as Christians, to be shriven, to go regularly to church, &c. Such lines as the following, for example, would have no application for those whose lives were ordered by monastic rule (*Passion*, vv. 127-30):

Anon so ihesus com to Ierusalem and of þe asse was alȝt,
þe ffurste dede þat he dude to þe temple he ȝeode riȝt,
To ȝiue vs cristene men ensauple to go to chirche al-so
Whanne hi comeþ to eny toun þe ffurste þing þat hi do.

Mr. Gerould's alternative suggestion, that the work was intended for the spiritual profit of the private reader, the patron of letters⁸ (in which case it might naturally be of monastic composition) presents other difficulties. An audience of actual listeners appears to be repeatedly recognized, not only in such phrases as 'ȝe mowe wel yseo' and 'as ȝe witeþ', but in such lines as these in the *Passion* (vv. 1597-8):

Man, how miȝtou þis yhure, þat þin heorte ne brekeþ anon?
Allas, man! whuch is þin heorte? hardour þan eny ston?

The poet regards his audience, moreover, as unlettered. He habitually renders into simple English the phrases which he

⁷ *Saints' Legends*, p. 154.

⁸ *loc. cit.*

takes over into the poem from his Latin source. We find for example:

Tenebres beoþ derkhede (*Passion*, v. 1543).

Again, he explains a technical term:

Arsmetrike is a lore þat of figurs al is
& of drauȝtes as me draweþ in pondre⁹ & of numbres iwis
(*Edmund conf.* vv. 235-6);

and he elucidates a theological term which would hardly have offered difficulties to a person of even slight education. Certain false Christians

. . . ne bilefden nouȝt þat ore louerd were ibore of þe maide
Marie;
Swuch manere fals bileue Men cleopeden heresie
(*Dominic*, vv. 35-6).

The contents of the *Legendary*, in fact, compel the conclusion that the work was intended for the oral instruction of 'lewed folk'. But, it may be suggested, just such an audience may have been in the minds of some monastic group who desired to provide sermons or *lectiones* in the vernacular for parochial churches under their care. Against this possibility must be placed, first, the testimony of history as to the characteristic attitude of thirteenth-century monasteries towards their parochial cures. These seem to have been treated in the main as sources of revenue by the monasteries, rather than as responsibilities. Accordingly, 'the spiritual needs of the parishioners [*sc.* in monastic appropriations] were neglected. The churches were served either by monks, who from their training and life could have but little sympathy with the parishioners, or by a poorly paid chaplain who was removable at the will of the patrons'.¹⁰ Certainly we know of no instances in which monastic houses showed special zeal in promoting the spiritual welfare of parishes under their care, whereas there is frequent record of efforts on the part of high-minded prelates,

⁹ Horstmann reads this as *poudre* (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 438).

¹⁰ *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*, ii. 7. The failure of the system of appropriated benefices is generally admitted by historians; cf. among others F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, London, 1899, pp. 138 ff., and Rev. Edward L. Cutts, D.D., *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England*, London, 1898, pp. 97-8.

such as Grosseteste, to stimulate them to fulfil their obligations.¹¹

Moreover, even if we assume an exception to the prevailing indifference on the part of monasteries to their parishes, we meet a further obstacle in the unsuitability of the pieces in the *Legendary* for use in the appointed services of the church. As Professor Gerould points out, some of the pieces are too long, others too short, to serve in their present form as homilies or *lectiones*.¹² We may note, moreover, such passages as the following from *John the Baptist* (vv. 43-1) :

And sethþe he liet smite of his heued, as ȝe i-hereth ofte telle,
Also man redeȝ in is daye in heruest, biforen eov in þe godspelle.

Obviously the poem in which these lines occur could not have been intended as a substitute for the gospel for St. John's Day. And, although these and many other passages have the character of a *sermo ad parochianos*, we cannot suppose that the pieces were designed directly for pulpit use, inasmuch as the moral frequently applies to the priest rather than to the congregation. The following comment in the *Passion* on the words of Jesus to Peter, 'Feed my lambs', have point only for those who have the care of souls (vv. 2241-50) :

ffor whoso is heued of holy chirche, as preost and persoun is,
þreo pinges he mot haue, to wissi þe soules i-wis:
Word, dede and ensauple; and bote he habbe alle þeos þreo
He ne may wardeyn of holy chirche in no manere beo.

ffor ȝif þer ffayleþ eny of þeos, and man mysdo þerfore,
He shal answerie at domesday of eche soule fforlore.

Passages equally applicable to 'persouns and preostes', in some cases conveying sharp censure, may be cited from the *Legends*.¹³ It is plain that the writer intended both priest and flock to profit by his work.

These passages count with equal force against the possibility that the *Legendary* was composed by secular clerks. We can, indeed, conceive such a prelate as Bishop Grosseteste as encouraging the composition of pious narratives in the ver-

¹¹ Cf. Cutts, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Stevenson, *loc. cit.*

¹² *Saints' Legends*, p. 155.

¹³ Cf. pp. c-cii, below.

nacular, and we should expect a group of secular canons—as for example those serving Wells Cathedral—to command the necessary resources and leisure. But we can hardly suppose that the secular clergy would put forth a work which contained expressions reflecting on their order, and which could not be employed by a priest without considerable editing.

How, then, are we to account for these pieces which are at once appropriate as sermons to the people and inappropriate in the service? An explanation which reconciles these apparently inconsistent characters is offered by the preaching of the friars.¹⁴ Orthodox in theology, free-lance in method, zealous for the spiritual improvement of clergy as well as laymen, these thirteenth-century missionaries present perhaps the most reasonable solution for the puzzle of the purpose and authorship of the *South English Legendary*. Although the pieces could not, without radical adaptation, serve the parish priest, the preaching friar would find in them sermons 'made to his hand'. Although obviously not commensurate with the opportunities offered by the Liturgy, they yet lent themselves readily to the more flexible conditions of friar preaching. The friars, of course, controlled their own homiletic limits. Frequently they preached out-of-doors, in tavern porches or open fields,¹⁵ when, as often happened, the parish priest refused them the use of his church.¹⁶ Where they were in possession of their own churches, they took liberties with the service, shortening the mass and extending the time for the sermon.¹⁷ And it must not be

¹⁴ The most comprehensive discussion of the Friars Minor in England in the thirteenth century is that of A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, Manchester, 1917. For the Dominicans, cf. Rev. C. F. Palmer, *Life of Cardinal Howard*, London, 1867, Introd., pp. 39-67.

¹⁵ Cf. Little, *Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 132.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14; Dr. Little cites here the Bull *Super calthedram* of 1300, which allowed the friars full liberty to preach 'to clergy and people in their own churches and in public places' (except at stated times), but they might preach in the parish church only by invitation of the priest. Cf. also Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*, p. 85.

¹⁷ 'The Friars, laying such stress on the sermon, seem to have allowed themselves considerable latitude in shortening the office, and the seculars complained at the Council of Lyons in 1274 that people preferred the short masses of the friars and neglected the ordinary services' (Little, *Studies in Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 133, citing Hefele, *Conziliengeschichte*, vi. 113).

forgotten that, although we have no contemporary testimony on this point, one of the complaints brought by Wyclif against the friars of his day was their habit of preaching in rime.¹⁸

But we have to consider a more fundamental matter than the symmetry with which the *South English Legendary* fits into the framework of friar sermons. It is of special significance that we find the *Legendary* consistently exhibiting an attitude toward the church and the social order which is in essentials that historically attributed to the friars, and which, in many cases, is reflected in works of authentic friar authorship.

The friars occupied a unique position, within the church, but outside the hierarchy. Thus, while labouring with zeal and devotion to uphold the church, they had peculiar opportunity for criticizing the shortcomings of its clergy. And although it was the policy of their superiors to discourage such criticism, the preaching brothers appear to have allowed themselves some liberty in publicly calling attention to the deficiencies of the seculars. That this practice reached a point where restraint was called for, we know from a letter of St. Bonaventura, written when he was general of the Franciscan Order to one of his provincial ministers:

Inhibeas etiam fratribus firmiter & distincte quia tam divino quam canonico prohibetur imperio, ne praelatorum vitam coram populo carpent sed potius reverentiam exhibeant.¹⁹

¹⁸ 'For þei docken Goddis word and tateren it bi þer rimes' (*Select Eng. Works of J. Wyclif*, ed. Thomas Arnold, iii. 180).

¹⁹ *Opera*, ed. Rome, 1588, vii. 467, col. 2. Cf. also Little: 'That the friars diminished the respect paid to the parish priest is admitted by the friars and justified by Bonaventura' (*op. cit.*, p. 119). There are many records of clashes between parish priests and friars, especially after 1250. Typical of the situation between priests and friars is a document in the *Annals of Burton Monastery*, a letter of Hybert, Prior of the Dominicans, under date 1258, on certain complaints made against them of usurping the functions of the parochial clergy; viz. that they draw parishioners away from their proper churches to hear mass and sermons in the friars' houses; by drawing up wills for wealthy patrons, they defraud the seculars of bequests; they defraud these further by allowing sepulture within the grounds of Friars' churches; they hear confessions, without being authorized to do so. The regulations laid down by the Prior for their future conduct in these matters reflect a general principle of attempting to prevent friction between priests and friars, and of keeping

In the *South English Legendary* we find no comment on 'prelates', but scathing comments on certain types of priests, as well as an effort to reconcile these denunciations with an attitude of judicial tolerance toward the order of secular clergy as a whole. The author chides the avaricious priest (*Passion*, vv. 175-8):—

Her we seop þat oure lord is apayd vnylyche
Of a lutel offryng of a pouere man þan of a gret of a riche;
Ak y ne segge nouȝt þat þe persone is so þat in his stede auȝte beo,
ffor whanne his offryng is gret him pinkeþ he may fleo.

In *All Souls Day*, the priest who gives easy penances is severely scored (vv. 45-52):—

ȝwat, hou is hit þanne of lanekin, and of robinet þe wilde,
Of annot, and of malekin,²⁰ þat wollez habbe þene preost so milde,
And huy seggez 'þilke preost is to hard; god schilde us frame is
lothþ!

go we to sire Gilbert þe preost, he nis neure wrothþ;
he wollez schriue us nessche i-nouȝ and ore sunnes al for-ȝyue.'
bi god, ȝwane huy habbez al i-do hom huy gothþ vn-schriue;
for heore penaunce schal beo so luyte þat sire Gilbert and huy also
schullen gon a deuelewey bote god nime ȝeme heom to.²¹

Later in the same poem, the author, presenting the traditional opinion that the efficacy of the mass is not weakened even though it be administered by a sinful priest, takes occasion to warn the priest of the consequences to himself (vv. 339-46):—

the friars obedient to episcopal authority (*Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, i. 434-5).

²⁰ The same popular tone of address, even to the typical rustic names given the offenders, is employed in the well-known *Lutel Soth Sermun*:

þeos prude yongemen þat luuyeþ Malekin
And þeos prude maydenes þat luuyeþ ianekyn (vv. 53-6);

and again:

Robyn wule Gilothe leden to þan ale (vv. 73-4).

This is edited by Morris in *An Old English Miscellany*, E. E. T. S. 49, pp. 186-92, from two MSS. It is worth noting that one of these, Jesus Coll. Oxf. 29, contains also the narrative *Passion of Our Lord*, which, though not a source of the *Southern Passion*, is an important prototype. The Jesus College MS. is itself open to the suspicion of being a friars' manuscript.

²¹ E. E. T. S. 87, pp. 421-2.

Ake þei þe Masse ne beo þe worse, þe preost, bi mi swere,
 þat hire singuth in dedlich sunne, a-corie it schal ful deore!
 For ʒwane sire Gileberd i-massed hath, his lif he wole so diȝhte
 At þe tauerne to beon a-day and bi is quene bi nyȝhte;
 he seith, ʒwane men cleopiez him preost 'sittez stille, mine guode
 i-fere,
 þe preost hanguez at churchē, and ich am nouȝe here.'
 his cope oþer his surplis þe preost he seith it isse,
 Ake his cope schal bileue at hom ʒwane he schal to helle, i-wisse.²²

A mild form of broadside is indeed delivered at one point
 (*Passion*, vv. 341-2):—

As a bisschop clupeþ to godes bord many, as ʒe seoþ,
 And makeþ ham persouns and preostes, ak ffew þerto worþi beoþ.

But the effect of even this attack is weakened by a later
 passage of considerable length in which the author stresses the
 necessity of regarding each instance of wrongdoing on the part
 of priests as an individual case (*Passion*, vv. 1965-72, 1979-
 82):—

Ak ʒif a clerk oþer a preost hap in his ffolye
 A symple þufþe y-don, oþer a ffoul lecherye,
 Þanne comeþ fforþ ech rybaud in his rybaudye,
 And seiþ, 'Lo! þis clerkes! what lif hi wolle drye!
 Lo! þulke stal an oxe, and dude such ffolye,
 And þulke by þat mannes wyf lay in holerye.
 Þeos acorsede clerkes suche hi beoþ echon.
 Hi were worþi beo to-drawe, þat þer nere alyue nouȝt on.'

²² *Ibid.*, p. 430. Much in the same vein is a passage in the *Fasciculus Morum*, a collection of materials for the use of preachers compiled by a friar in the early fourteenth century. Of this Dr. Little remarks that while 'singularly free from stories derogatory of ecclesiastical persons, it contains some criticism, as of the drunken priest who oversleeps himself and gabbles through the service, and is warned that he will be punished not in purgatory but in hell' (*Stud. in Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 153). The criticism follows (as in the instance cited from *All Souls*) a statement of the efficacy of the Mass even when administered by a sinful priest. Another and a closer analogue is offered by an *exemplum* in the Dominican compilation in the MS. Royal 7 D 1 (No. 297); here a priest who has celebrated mass while defiled with sin is carried off by devils (cf. *Cat. Rom.* iii. 501). This is one of a series of *exempla* dealing with priests who have concubines (Nos. 284-302); cf. *All Souls*, v. 342.

Whi ne mot on bere his gult, and anoþer his?
 Bote ȝif on mysdoþ hi beoþ y-blamed alle, y-wis
 ffor þe loue of Ihesu crist, ȝe þat conne resoun
 Ne blame noþing þe gulteles bote ȝe seo enchesoun.

The above lines, indeed, reprove libellers rather than sinners; the writer shows himself, like the godly Bishop Peacock of a later day, a 'repressor of overmuch blaming of the clergy'. But more significantly for the present discussion, he echoes here utterances of Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas originally made in defence of the 'religious'. Bonaventura accused the enemies of the religious orders of generalizing from insufficient instances:

Ex hoc arguitur stoliditas saecularium quorundam, qui dum vident aliquem religiosum in aliquo offendere, omnes religiosos despiciunt, quasi omnes tales sint.²³

The same theme is developed by Thomas Aquinas in a passage of considerable length in his treatise *Contra Impugnantes Religionem*. Of those persons who have called members of religious orders 'penetratores domorum', he says:—

Extendunt quoad personas, vt videlicet quod ab uno vel duobus geritur, toti religioni imponere praesumant, sicut cum dicunt, quod non sunt cibis sibi appositis contenti lautiora quaerentes, multa huiusmodi quae etiam si ab aliquibus aliquando fiant, nullatenus sunt totali collegio imponenda. . . . Non ergo propter hoc infamandum est religiosorum collegium si aliqui ex eorum numero gravia etiam peccata committunt . . . Tertio, extendunt religiosorum mala secundum quantitatem, videlicet eorum peccata leuia vltra modum aggravando.²⁴

With the tenor of this passage the lines in the *Passion* are seen to correspond, not only in the correction of the critics' faulty logic, but in minimizing the gravity of the offence condemned; the difference lies in the application of the passage to secular instead of regular clergy. The correspondence has

²³ Cf. *Determinationes inter Quaestiones Reguli Fratrum Minorum, Opera*, Rome, 1588, vii. 360, col. 1; (cited by Neander, *Church History* (Clark's translation, 1851), vii, pp. 387-8).

²⁴ *Contra Impugnantes Religionem, Opuscula*, Venice, 1857, p. 271, col. 1. (Also cited by Neander, *loc. cit.*)

special force when we remember that Thomas Aquinas, the most powerful theological influence of his period, was himself a Dominican.

Allusions to the monastic orders are in all cases respectful. Many of the heroes of the *Legends* are of course monks,²⁵ and there is frequent reference to 'fair' or 'wel good' abbeys.²⁶ The absence of criticism is not, however, to be necessarily taken as an indication of monastic authorship, inasmuch as it was apparently not in accordance with the early policy of the friars to profess disesteem for the cloistered life. An interesting reflection of their attitude in this matter may be noted in the *Durham Liber Exemplorum*, a contemporary collection of sermon-materials compiled by a Franciscan.²⁷ This work included stories reflecting on the morals of monks, 'but preachers are warned, if they are preaching to the people to alter stories reflecting on the monks so as to make them of general application; otherwise the religious will be brought into contempt'.²⁸ Most significant, however, as pointing in the direction of friar authorship for the *South English Legendary*, is the attitude exhibited in it toward the Mendicant Orders themselves. Even viewed superficially, the inclusion of lives of Francis and Dominic in the collection would seem to rule out the possibility of monastic authorship, inasmuch as the characteristic feeling of monasticism toward the friars appears to have been mainly jealousy and contempt.²⁹ But certain expressions of the author offer more specific evidence of sympathy with the friars. In the following lines in the *Passion*, which occur in the explanation of the parable likening the Kingdom of Heaven to a net full of

²⁵ e.g. Dunstan, Augustine, Wolfstan, Brendan, Cuthbert. There is no life of St. Benedict in the Laud 108 *Legendary*, although this occurs in many later MSS. of the collection, including Harley 2277. St. Benedict is mentioned in the legend of Scholastica quite impersonally as having founded the order of black monks and nuns (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 197).

²⁶ Cf. the 'fair abbey' of Glastonbury (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 20), 'wel noble' Battle Abbey (*Ibid.*, p. 73). The administration of the Priory of Worcester under Wolfstan receives praise (*Ibid.*, p. 71).

²⁷ *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicatorum*, ed. Little, Brit. Soc. for Franciscan Studies, vol. i (1908).

²⁸ Cf. Little, *Studies in Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 154.

²⁹ Cf. *Victoria Co. Hist. of Somersetshire*, ii. 13.

fishes, it is difficult to avoid seeing a commendatory reference to the friar preachers (vv. 367-70):—

þe fischeres beop þe prechours, þat gop aboute wip here gynne,
And precheþ her in þis wordle, goede soules to wynne.

Wholly unequivocal, however, are the expressions of admiration for the *ordo praedicatorum* which occur in the legend of *St. Dominic* (100-1):—

So þat þe ordre of frere prechours seint domenic bi-gan þo,
þat hath i-saued wel mani a man, and ȝeot it schal wel mo.

The controversial heat of the author's reply to slanderers of the friars, in the following lines, is clearly partisan (vv. 164-9, 174-7):—

Manie of þis deoueles limes bitwene heom seggez al dayȝ,
'Wel murie was þe world and guod are man ani frere i-sayȝ.'
Also huy spekez, heom bi-falleȝ; for ore louerd seide, iwis,
'Bi ȝe fruyt man may i-seo ȝwat-manere treo it is;
For þare ne may of no luyþer treo no guod fruyt springue';
Vnneþe may a luyþur man ani guod word out of him-sulue bringue.

Ake hit ne worth neuere fals þat ore louerd himself sede,
þat his disciples scholden i-blessede beo, ȝwanne men hem spekez
to quede,

And seggez heom scorn and bysemare for ore louerdes name.
Bi þe freres þus it is of men þat seggez heom schame.

A writer who refers to adversaries of the friars as 'limbs of the devil' would appear to have more than a casual connexion with the friars themselves. Certainly he was not a monk.

Where the social sympathies of the author are reflected in the *Legendary*, their affinity is with the friars rather than the monks. The friars were from the first the champions of the lowly, as the monks were the aristocrats.⁵⁰ We may refer again to the sermon materials compiled by the friars, of which Dr. Little says:

⁵⁰ Cf. Article 20 of the Assize of Clarendon, 'Prohibet dominus rex ne monachi . . . recipient aliquem de minuto populo in monachum', etc. (Cited by Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, p. 7.) It appears to be generally agreed that the monks had little to do with the townsmen, and little sympathy with them (cf. Little, *Studies in Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 98).

Another point in which the collections resemble one another is their sympathy with the poor and condemnation of their oppressors. If unjust bailiffs continued to flourish, it was not the fault of the preachers.³¹

Of such sympathy (which is quite different from perfunctory praise of almsgiving) we find repeated instances scattered through the *Legendary*. The incident of St. Edmund's restoration of a heriot-beast to a poor widow is feelingly presented, together with the good archbishop's strictures on the law which inflicted such hardship on the poor (v. 490):—

'Me pinchez it a lupur lawe, and noþur rightful ne guod.'

The writer dwells also on the despairing grief of 'lowe men and simple' at the death of King Edward the Martyr, who had been not only 'Debonere with pouere men mest', but their protector (vv. 97-100):—

'Alas,' huy seiden, 'ȝwat schulle we noupe? ho schal for us beo?
ho schal us noupe fram weorre wite? ȝwodere schulle we noupe
fleo?

ho schal nou pais in londe holde? ore ioye is al i-do!

Of weorre and wo we mouwen beo sikere,—al wrechhede comethþ
us to.'

The vanity which is characteristic of the rich, even in death, is glanced at in *St. Francis*. This holy man was buried the day after he died—

he ne ferde nouȝt ase þis riche,

þat for bobaunt of þe world liggethþ longue a-liche (vv. 452-3).

The nobility are referred to impersonally, 'þis heye men þat beop' (*Passion*, 476).

A final suggestion of confirmatory evidence is the clearly defined attitude toward woman which is taken by the author of the *Southern Passion*. No trace of the misogyny, real or assumed, which was characteristic of the monastic code, and which found expression in many monastic diatribes,³² is to be found in the poem, which on the other hand includes a passage of considerable length in defence of the goodness and fealty of women. Those scandal-mongers who make a single instance of woman's folly

³¹ Little, *loc. cit.*

³² As an example note the 'Proprietates mulieris' which is of frequent occurrence in monastic MSS., e.g. MS. Bodley 57, fol. 206.

a pretext for defaming the sex are (like the slanderers of the clergy) vigorously denounced (vv. 1973-8, 1983-6):—

Also hit ffareþ by wymmen among lupere tounge ywis,
Whanne hi hureþ—þey hit selde beo—þat on dōp amys,
þorw bysekne of a ffol womman,³³ (ffor elles þer wolde ffewe).
Þanne in his rybaudye wole segge many a shrewe,
'Suxton þulke womman þat nom þulke man at eue,
þat make hure so goed and queynte? Who scholde eny leoue?'

And whanne ȝe habbeþ al y-sed, god ȝiue ham alle schame
þat wiþoute enchesoun eny goed womman blame;
ffor more myldhede and goednesse in non eorþlich best nys,
Ne more milce and truwenesse, þan in a goed womman is.

The perspective of the author of the *Legendary* is not, indeed, taken from the angle of the cloister. His allusions, in passages which appear to be original, reflect acquaintance with common life. He has noted the ways of 'port-doggues', which are indifferent to strangers because used to the 'prece of men' in a port-town;³⁴ he has looked—though not with favour—on hilarious fellows in their cups at the ale-house;³⁵ he has walked in wintry English lanes where the hoar-frost—

Cleouez on hegges al abovte, and in þe wodes al-so,
On treo, on stones, on bestes also, þare it may cleouien to,—
Ichot wel on mi foretop it hauez wel ofte i-do.³⁶

If, then, we may with some probability assign the *South English Legendary* to the friars on the score of its point of view and apparent purpose, we must inquire whether it is consistent with historic fact that such a work should have proceeded from the Mendicant Orders. And we find that the testimony of history, far from controverting the possibility, tends in general to encourage it. Toward the close of the thirteenth century,

³³ *Al*, 'man'.

³⁴ *Michael*, vv. 267-70 (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 307).

³⁵ *Passion*, vv. 1959-62.

³⁶ *Michael*, vv. 623-5 (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 317). The long excursus into physical science in this poem in itself suggests affinity with the friars, inasmuch as they are regarded as largely responsible for the spread of interest in natural science which characterized the thirteenth century. Cf. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 148.

the activity of the Mendicant Orders³⁷ had passed far beyond the initial stage of scattered individual ministrations and apostolic poverty, and become—however contrary to the ideals of their founders—an organized and influential social agency. The degeneration which followed upon the failure of mendicancy in the fourteenth century, and which laid them open to the satire of Chaucer and Wyclif, had apparently not set in. They were, by the last quarter of the thirteenth century, firmly established in all parts of England; in the south-west, the region with which this discussion has special concern, we find prosperous houses of both Franciscans and Dominicans at Gloucester³⁸ and Bristol,³⁹ as well as less important houses of Black Friars at Ilchester,⁴⁰ and of Grey Friars at Bridgwater.⁴¹ In the absence of surviving records of these houses, no positive statement can be made as to the resources offered by their libraries for the compiling of a work on the scale of the *South English Legendary*. At the same time we know that it was not unusual for convents of friars to be well supplied with books. Anthony à Wood, after commenting on the library of the Grey Friars at Oxford, which had in addition to the books inherited from Robert Grosseteste considerable resources of their own, says:

For as the Fryers of this place especially, so the generality of the rest in England did more or lesse collect all the monuments of learning (chiefly of Divinity and Law) that they for love or money could get.⁴²

³⁷ I have limited this discussion to the Dominicans and Franciscans only, inasmuch as the other orders were of later development in England.

³⁸ *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*, ii. 111.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 109–10. On the Dominican house, cf. also Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'The Friar Preachers of Bristol', in *Anglia Dominicana* (a collection of short papers from various journals bound together, without date, in the British Museum), pp. 129–41; for the Franciscan, cf. G. E. Weare, *The Bristol Friars Minors*, Bristol, 1893.

⁴⁰ *Victoria County Hist. of Somersetshire*, ii. 150–1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 151–2.

⁴² *Survey of the Antiquities of Oxford* (1661–6), ed. Andrew Clark, Oxford Hist. Soc., xvii, vol. ii, p. 379. The Grey Friars had two libraries, one for the convent, and one for the school. Wood notes also that the library of the Black Friars at Oxford was 'larg and full of books' (*ibid.*, p. 321). The catalogue of the library of the Grey Friars at Hereford has

That there were erudite and prolific writers among the English friars—apart from the great names in both orders known to every one—is apparent after even a casual survey of Bale's *Index* or Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*.⁴³ And although there is scant record here or elsewhere of vernacular productions of the Friars,⁴⁴ authentic works in Latin abound. Among these, a group of special interest in its relation to popular sermons consists of the collections of material, largely exempla, compiled for the use of preachers.⁴⁵ Two of the most popular of these, the *Fasciculus Morum* and the *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicatorum*, have already been noted. We may add to these the *Speculum Laicorum*, compiled between 1279 and 1292 by a friar in the south-east of England,⁴⁶ a collection of exempla in MS. Royal 7 D. 1, compiled by a Dominican in the late thirteenth century,⁴⁷ and the somewhat later *Contes*

been in part reconstructed by Dr. James from the pressmarks (late fourteenth century) in scattered volumes. (Cf. *British Society for Franciscan Studies*, v. 114-24.) Dr. James finds reason to believe that this library contained a minimum of 170 vols., possibly 300 (pp. 121-2). An inventory of the much smaller library of the Black Friars of London made by the provincial Richard de Winkle in 1339 is printed in Bale's *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Med. and Mod. Ser., vol. ix, p. 13).

⁴³ The great treasury of information in regard to Franciscan writers in general is of course Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*; and for the Dominicans, Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*.

⁴⁴ We may note, however, an instance of metrical composition in the well-known 'Luce Ron' known to be the work of a friar, Thomas of Hales. Much of the English material in MS. Harl. 913 has a manifestly Franciscan background.

⁴⁵ Cf. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, pp. 136 ff. Dr. Little notes also that a large number of handbooks on confession and penance were issued in the thirteenth century, and the authors of these so far as they can be identified are mostly Mendicant Friars (p. 120). The Dominicans produced a number of exegetical works designed to aid in the composition of sermons, and three members of this order compiled a Biblical concordance about 1250-75 (Ernest Barker, *The Dominican Order and Convocation*, Oxford, 1913, p. 30).

⁴⁶ Cf. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁴⁷ Cited by Little, *ibid.*, p. 155; contents given in *Catalogue of Romances*, iii. 477-503, and in *Catalogue of Royal MSS*. Two later Dominican compilations of the same type are the *Summa Praedicatorum* of John de Bromyard (fourteenth century, cf. *Cat. Rom.*, iii. 450-2), and the *Promptorium Exemplorum* of John Herolt (fifteenth century, cf. *Cat. Rom.*, iii. 452-3).

Moralisés of Nicole de Bozon.⁴⁸ With this group the *Legendary* has obvious affiliations, if not in subject-matter, certainly in objective and point of view.

If we admit as probable the hypothesis that the *South English Legendary* was the work of a friar, we have to consider the further question whether we may more reasonably connect him with the Franciscan or the Dominican order. In common with the Latin collections of sermon materials, the *Legendary* yields no explicit reference to specific ideals or traditions of one order rather than the other,⁴⁹ and indeed it is difficult to lay hold of clear historic differentia by which to define, for the period with which we are concerned, their respective characters.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁸ Discussed by Little, *Eng. Franc. Hist.*, &c., p. 139; ed. L. Toulmin-Smith, *Soc. des Anciens Textes français*, 1889.

⁴⁹ Cf. Dr. Little: 'One cannot fail to be struck by the absence [in these collections] of all allusions to Franciscan ideals, legends, and literature. A similar peculiarity may be observed in the *Summa* of the Dominican Guillaume Péraud, and it may be due to the fact that these works of the Mendicant Friars were intended for the use of all kinds of preachers' (*Brit. Soc. Franc. Stud.*, i, xiii).

⁵⁰ The distinction popularly drawn between the Franciscans as pre-eminently workers, and the Dominicans as preachers, although true in the early period of their activities, appears to have gradually become blurred, as the Franciscans did not long obey the injunction of the founder of their order against the owning of even a single book. In the period with which we are concerned, the distinction no longer appears to be valid. We read frequently of preaching by the Franciscans; to the 'popular preaching' of this Order Dr. Little devotes an entire chapter of the *Studies in English Franciscan History*. He notes herein that the importance of preaching had long been exalted by Franciscans and Dominicans alike, quoting in this regard the dictum of the Franciscan St. Bernard of Siena: 'If of these two things you can only do one—either hear the mass or hear the sermon—you should let the mass go rather than the sermon', and the comment of the Dominican Humbertus de Romanis in his *De Eruditione Praedicatorum*: 'Christ only once heard mass; there is no evidence of his having confessed, but he laid great stress on prayer and preaching, especially preaching' (*Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 133). Stevenson draws an interesting contrast between the Dominicans and Franciscans: 'the former relied on the eloquence of the spoken word for the furtherance of their efforts, the latter—on the eloquence of practical example. The Black Friars appealed to fear, the Gray Friars to love' (*Robert Grosseteste*, p. 60). He has in mind, however, the friars of the first half of the thirteenth century. Again, the distinction asserted by Dr. W. W. Shirley, in the introduction to the Wyclifite *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, appears

simple, practical tone of the *Legendary*, as well as its obviously popular intention, might seem (it is true) to suggest the Franciscan rather than the Dominican tradition. So, too, would the dependence of the *Passion* on the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*—a work manifestly of Franciscan origin. But these suggestions are controverted by the results of a comparison of the legends of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which makes it clear that in the eyes of the author St. Dominic was far the more important figure.⁵¹ Although St. Francis is treated with respectful sympathy and admiration, St. Dominic is exalted to almost superhuman heights. He appears as the champion raised up by Our Lady, to save the world from the wrath of God; Francis is his worthy 'felawe' whom he seeks out (inspired by a vision) to labour with him.⁵² The characterization of Francis, 'þat guod man was inouȝ', pales beside that of Dominic, in whose forehead at birth was a star (v. 16)—

þat þoru-out al cristine-dom schon and ȝaf gret lizt.

And the symbolism of the star is significant (vv. 17-20):—

ȝwat was þe schiningue of þis child bote þat he scholde bringue
to godes lawe Mani a man, þoruȝ is guode prechinge,
And þat he scholde an ordre make of frere prechours, þat ȝet is
þat þare-þoruȝ al cristine-dom amendi scholde, iwis.

Finally, it is not to be forgotten that the great contemporary collection, compiled independently in Italy—the *Legenda Aurea*—to which the English collection corresponds in general plan and outline of content, was the work of a Dominican, Jacobus de Voragine.

to relate to the thirteenth-century friars in their University activities: 'The Franciscans were the brilliant advocates of theological paradox, but sober learning took refuge with the disciples of St. Dominic' (ed. Rolls Series, p. xlix).

⁵¹ The citations which follow are from the text of Laud 108 as printed in *E. E. T. S.* 87. The *Life of Dominic* is of frequent, though not invariable, occurrence in MSS. of the *Legendary*.

⁵² The account given in the poem of the founding of the two orders has little relation to historic fact.

THE SOUTHERN PASSION

THE TEXT

THE text printed is that of MS. Pepys 2344 in the Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge. This MS. was selected, rather than the somewhat earlier MS. Harley 2277, since the *Passion* in the latter is defective, lacking, through the loss of a gathering of leaves, over 900 lines. The only deviation from the MS. has been the occasional insertion, within square brackets, of words and lines needed to complete the sense. These have been supplied from MS. Harley 2277 and, where this MS. fails (vv. 595–1502), from MS. Tanner 17. In one instance, a couplet (vv. 2224 a, b) is supplied from MS. King's College Cambridge 13. In the foot-notes are recorded variant readings found in MS. Harley 2277, and where this MS. fails from MS. Tanner 17.

The usage of the MS. has been followed in capitalization. Such marks of punctuation as appear in the MS. have been retained; these have been supplemented by modern punctuation in order to facilitate the reading of the text.

The following symbols are employed in references to MSS. of the *Southern Passion*:—

Pepys 2344	<i>P</i>	Bodl. 779	<i>B</i>
King's Coll. Cambr. 13	<i>K</i>	Laud Misc. 463	<i>L</i>
Harl. 2277	<i>H</i>	Trinity Coll. Oxf. 57	<i>Ty</i>
Vernon	<i>V</i>	Egerton 2891	<i>E</i>
Tanner 17	<i>T</i>	Bodl. Add. C. 38	<i>A</i>

THE SOUTHERN PASSION

BY-flore six dayes of Ester : as a palme-sone eue
 Iesus wente to Bethanye : pere to hy-leue,
 per as a lazar was ded : pat Ihesus brouzte po to lyue.
 Hi made per a ffeste : and Martha him bed per-to wel
 blyue,

[p. 183]

On Palm-Sun-
 day eve Iesus
 went to
 Bethany; they
 made a feast for
 him, and Martha
 served at table.

4

And seruede ham atte mete : and lazar per sat and et,
 And Marie Magdaleyne : per wosh oure lordes ffet
 And wip a pound of oynement : 3eo smerede his ffet ywis ;
 Of spykenard hit was ymad : pat wel precious ping is.
 3eo wypede him suppe wip hure her : pe box was of Marbelston,
 And al pe hous was yffuld : of pe smel ri3t anon.
 ffor Marie smerede : oure lordes ffet po

Mary Magdalene
 washed Iesus'
 feet and an-
 ointed them
 with a pound
 of spikenard,
 wiping them
 with her hair.

12

This is why on
 Palm-Sunday
 eve the pope
 leaves his sta-
 tion and gives
 alms to poor
 men.

16

Simon leprous
 in whose house
 the feast was
 made had been
 healed by Iesus.

20

Judas was wroth

[p. 184]

and said, 'This
 ointment might
 be sold for 300
 pence to deal
 to the poor.'

Judas was a
 thief.

As a palme-sone eue : and po pope eke euere-mo
 Gret dol makeþ to pouere men : as a palme-sone eue,
 And pulke day his stacioun : ffor trauayl dop by-leue,
 Ne he comeþ nouzt at chirche : ffor trauayl as hit were,
 ffor he haþ so muche to done : to dele her ⁊ pere.
 Symon leprous was a man : pat mesel was longe,
 Ak oure lord him hadde yheld er : of pat vuel stronge.
 In his hous oure lord et : and ysmered was also
 Of Marie pulke tyme : pat pis dede was ydo.
 On of oure lordes disciples : wrop was wip pat dede,—
 Iudas pat him suppe solde : and peos wordes sede,
 'Lord, wher-to shal pis [lire] ymad beo : ffor pis mi3te beo seld
 ffor preo hondred payns me þinkeþ : and to pouere men ydeld.' 24
 ffor he pouzte muche on pouere men : he ne sede nouzt pat pere,
 Ak ffor he was him-sulf a peof : and oure lordes purs-berere ;

1 as a] a.	2 wente] com.	3 a lazar] Lazar.	po to] to.	4 him
bed per-to] om.	5 And] om.	per] om.	6 per wosh] smyrede.	
7 And] om.	3eo &c.] ⁊ his heued also iwis.	8 wel precious ping]		
precious.	9 him] hit.	10 yffuld] ismyld.	ri3t] om.	11
Marie] heo.	12 and &c.] þe pope eueremo.	13 to] of.		14
staciouns.	15 he] he ne.	17 pat mesel] mesel þat.		18 yheld
er] er iheld.	pat] his.	20 pat] ⁊ po.	21 wip] for.	23 Lord] om.
y mad beo] lire ymad.	ffor pis] hit.	seld] wel iseld.	25 þouzte]	
ro3te. on] of.	26 he] om.	purs-berere] pors ber.		

He was purse-
bearer and stole
a tithe of the
offerings.

30 pence is the
tithe of 300
pence; it was to
recover them
that he sold
Jesus to the
Jews.

'Why are you
wroth with this
woman?' said
Jesus. 'She has
done a good
deed.'

On Palm-Sunday
morning Jesus
sent forth two
disciples: 'Ye
shall find an ass
and her colt
tied; lead them
hither.'

This was to ful-
fil the prophecy
of Zachary.

ffor many men oure lord 3af goed: pat were of goede pouzt
To susteyne his disciples: whanne he were to depe ybrouzt. 28
panne wolde Iudas ate laste: pe teoping per-of stele;
A shrewe he was al his lif: y ne may no leng hit hele.

pe teoping of preo houndred payns: pritty pans is;
To leose so muche of his puspe: him pouzte sore ywis, 32
And ffor wrappe of pulke pans: to keouery 3if he mihte
He solde oure lord ffor pritty pans: to pe gywes myd vurizte.
þo pe shrewe ffor pe oynement: wiþ Marie to chide by-gan,
'What beo 3e', quap oure lord: 'wrop wiþ þis womman? 36
In me now ⁊ eke by-flore: goed dede 3eo hap ydo;
pe pouere men 3e mowe euere habbe: me ne shulleþ 3e
nouzt so.

Soffre hure to wyte som: ffor-to ich yburied beo.
þo come monye of pe gywes: pe lazar ffor to seo 40
pat oure lord to lyue brouzte: and Iesus to seo al-so;
Ak pe princes of pe lawe: pouzte anoper ffor to do,
ffor to quelle lazar: ffor pe gywes mony on
Come aboute Ihesu: and by-leouede on him anon. 44

A Morwe a palme-soneday: as Ihesus pe wey nom
And in pe stret of Bethffage: ney Ierusalem com
Vp pe hulle of Olyuet: of his disciples tweye
He sende fforþ ⁊ sede ham: 'wendeþ fforþ þat weye
To a castel þat aȝen 3ow is: and 3e shulleþ anon ffynde 49
An asse yteyd and hure colt: and 3e shulleþ ham vnbynde
And ledeþ ham her to me: and 3if eny man seyþ ouzt anys,
Oper 3if eny þing 3ow wiþ-seiþ: seggeþ to ham þis, 52
pat pe lord hap her-to neode: and he wo[le] lete 3ow him
lede.'

Al þis was ydo to ffol-ffulle: þat Zakarie pe prophete sede

27 ffor meni 3eue oure louerd &c. 28 whanne &c.] for oþer nadde he
nozt. 30 y ne &c.] me ne mai hit no leng hele. 32 pouzte] ofþozte.
34 to] om. 35 þo] þat. ffor þe] fur þis. wiþ Marie to] on marie.
38 pe pouere men] Pouere. shulleþ] mowe. 40 pe lazar] Lazar. 42
ffor to] om. 43 ffor þe] þe. 44 Ihesu] ihesus þerfore. 45 a
palme-] þane. þe] þane. 46 And] om. 48 sende] sende hem.
wendeþ] goþ. þat] in þe. 50 and 3e shulleþ ham] anon 3e him. 51
ham her] him hider. seyþ ouzt] om. 52 Oper 3if] om. to ham] him.
53 her-to] þerto. him] anon. 54 pe prophete] om.

In his prophecie *per* by-ffore : longe ar þat was þis :
 ‘Seggeþ, 3e children of syon : þat 3our kyng ywis
 Comeþ her lo to þe : Meok ynow and mylde,
 Sittyng vp-on an asse-mere : and a colt noþing wilde,’
 þat no man ha[dde] vp yryde : þat yteyd was þere,
 þat to pouere men þat hadde neode : al redy hit were. 56
 Hi wente fforþ and dude anon : as Ihesus ham het beye—
 Seint peter and seint phelip : þe disciples were tweye—
 And ladde fforþ þe asse ⁊ þe colt : ⁊ *per*-vp-on caste
 Hare clopes ⁊ made oure lord : an sege to sitte ffaste. 60
 Oure lord wel myldeliche : þe asse-colt by-strod,
 And toward his dep : as he wel wuste [toward his foman] þo rod
 þat hadde him wyde ysouzt : and ne miȝte him ffynde nouzt.
 By his owen wil to ham he com : and þorw non oþer strengþe
 ybrouzt. 64
 Wiþ such prute com he puder : nouzt as ffel a kyng to do,
 Barffot vp-on an asse yhaltret : and open þe heued al-so.
 Adoun of þe hulle of Olyuet : þe 3onge children seye him ride ;
 Hi pouzte how he lazar arerede : þat me spak of wyde, 68
 þerffore hi wylnede him to seo : and hare clopes blyue
 Struþten of and caste in þe wey : and ffayre bowes of olyue,
 And of þe oþere treos some corue : and in his wey caste.
 þe ffolk by-ffore and by-hynde : by-gonne to grede ffaste, 72
 ‘Daues sone, saue vs : we by-secheþ now þe
 þat comeþ her in godes name : yblessed mote he beo.’
 S Ome of þe pharisees : to oure lord þo sede,
 ‘Mayster, blame þat ffolk : þat vp þe doþ so grede.’ 76
 ‘Ne wondre 3ou nouzt’, quap oure lord : ‘ffor 3if þat hi
 nolde
 Habbe honoured my comyng : siker þe stones wolde.’

56 ‘Children of
Sion, your king
comes sitting
upon a she-ass’
and a colt.

Peter and Philip
went and did as
Jesus had bidden.

Our Lord be-
strode the colt
and rode willingly
toward his
death.

[p. 185]

68

Not as suited a
king but bare-
foot and bare-
headed.

72 Children
stripped off
their clothes
and cast them
in the way.

76 The folk cried,
‘David’s son,
save us.’

80 The pharisees
protested but
Jesus said: ‘If
the folk hadn’t
honoured me,
the stones
would.’

55 ar þat] þat. 57 her] nou. þe] 3ou. 58 Sittyng] Sitteþ. 60
 hadde neode] neode hadde. al redy] iredi. 61 and dude anon] anon
 ⁊ dude. het] bad. 62 precedes 61. 63 *per*-vp-on] vpe þe colt. 64
 an sege to] *per*-vppe. 66 þo] toward his foman he. 67 hadde him] him
 hadde. 68 to ham he com] he com to hem. and þorw &c.] þat him hadde
 wide isozt. 69 such] what. nouzt as] as hit. a kyng] kyng. 70
 vp-on] on. þe heued] heued. 71 children seye him] men him seje.
 74 in þe] on his. ffayre bowes] branches. 75 þe oþere] oþer. in] on.
 76 þe] þat. 77 now þe] þe. 79 pharisees] sarazyna. þo sede] sede.
 80 vp] on. doþ so] so doþ. 81 nolde] so nolde.

When our Lord
died the stones
burst to show
that he was
God.

ffor þo oure lord deyde suppe ⁊ and his disciples echon
fflowe and ne dorste beo yknowe of him ⁊ þe stones to-borste
anon 84

Hence at tene-
bres we use
stones and clap-
pers instead of
bells.

In-to al þe countre a-boute ⁊ and to-cloue ⁊ shewede þere
þat he was god whanne his disciples ⁊ ne dorste nouȝt ffor ffre.
Perffore at þe tenebres tyd ⁊ me wole men to chirche bringe
Myd stones and myd claperes ⁊ and þanne none belle ryng, 88
ffor þe sompnours of holy chirche ⁊ as þe Apostles echon
Ne durste of god beo y-knowe ⁊ ak þe stones were anon.

As Jesus ap-
proched Jeru-
salem he wept
over it and said,
'If thou knew-
est the woe that
shall come to
thee thou
wouldest weep.

AS Ihesus him aprochede ⁊ to Ierusalem ney,
Vp þe toun he gan to wepe ⁊ þo he hit ysey, 92
And sede, 'ȝif þat þou wystem ⁊ þou wost wepe also'—
As who seyþ 'ȝif þou wystem ⁊ þe wo þat cometh þe to'—
'And pulke þing in þine daye ⁊ þat to pes þe is.

Not one stone
shall be left on
another.'

Now is hit ffaste yhud ⁊ fram þine eyen ywis; 96
ffor þer shulleþ ȝut dayes come ⁊ þat shulleþ by-sette þe ffaste,
And þer ne shal nouȝt a ston vp a ston ⁊ by-leue atte laste.
And in eche half in anguisse ⁊ þe shulle bringe swipe ffaste,
þe and þine children ⁊ and alle riȝt to grounde caste, 100
ffor þou noldest nouȝt þe tyme ⁊ yknowe of þi sauynge.'

This he said of
Titus and Ves-
pasian.

As who seyþ 'me shal þer-flore ⁊ þe to grounde brynge.'
By tytus and Vaspasyanus ⁊ oure lord al þis sede
þat al to nouȝt ham suppe brouȝte ⁊ ffor hare luper dede. 104

When Jesus
came into the
temple he drove
out the buyers
and sellers.

AS Ihesus him entrede ⁊ in-to Ierusalem ywis,
Al þe cyte was þo ymeoued ⁊ ⁊ sede þis,
'What is he ⁊' and þat ffolk ⁊ anon sede þis,
'þe prophete Ihesu of Nazareth ⁊ of Galile ywis.' 108
And þo he com in-to þe temple ⁊ he let out caste ⁊ do
Alle þe sulleres in þe temple and þe byggeres al-so;
And sede to ham, 'hit is ywrite ⁊ þat ycluped hit shal beo
Myn hows of orisouns ⁊ bote þat me may now yseo 112

83 ffor þo] As. and his] his. 84 dorste] perfte. to-borste] berste.
85 al þe countre] þe contrie al. þere] wel þere. 86 dorste] perfte.
87 þe tenebres tyd] tenebres tyme. 88 þanne none] no. 90 durste]
perfte. y-knowe] iknowe noȝt. 91 to] om. 92 hit] him. 93 ȝif þat] if.
96 is hit] hit is. 97 come] come on þe. by-sette þe] bisette. 98 omitted.
99 shulle &c.] bringe atte laste. 100 omitted. 103 oure lord al
þis] al þis oure lound. 104 suppe brouȝte] broȝte. 105 in-to] in.
106 ymeoued] ymengd. 107 he] he þes. anon sede þis] seide anon he is.
109 let] het. 112 bote &c.] ⁊ nou me mai iseo.

þat alosed 3e him makeþ ⁊ of þeoues recet, allas.'

Ihesus wente þo in-to þe temple ⁊ and al day techyng was. Jesus taught in
[p. 186]

Blynde and lame in þe temple þo ⁊ to him come an hey, 116 the temple all
day and healed
blind and lame.

And he ham helde anon ⁊ and bad ham go hare wey. 116

þo þe princes and þe preostes ⁊ seye þat wonder dede

And þe children of þe temple ⁊ þat azen him gradde ⁊ sede,

'Saue vs, Dauyd-is sone ⁊' wroþe hi were ywis,

And to oure lord sede ⁊ 'hastou yhurð þis ⁊' 120 wroth.

'3e', quap oure lord þo ⁊ 'nabbe 3e yhurð rede

In þe sauter of Dauyd ⁊ þat in þis manere sede,

Of children mouþ soukyng ⁊ þou makedest heryyng?

Dauid in þe sauter ⁊ spak þo of my comyng.

Ihesus byleuede ham þo ⁊ and to Bethanye out com, 124

And byleuede þer and tauzte ham ⁊ of godes kyngdom. Jesus left them
and went out to
Bethany.

Anon so Ihesus com to Ierusalem ⁊ and of þe asse was a-lyzt,

þe ffurste dede þat he dude ⁊ to þe temple he 3eode rlyzt, 128

To 3iue vs cristene men ensauple ⁊ to go to chirche al-so

Whanne hi comeþ to eny toun ⁊ þe ffurste þing þat hi do. As he went first
to the temple
we ought to go
first to church
when we visit
any town.

Eche day ffram palmesonue eue ⁊ ffor-to Shereþorsday,

Oure lord 3eode to Bethanye ⁊ and wip simound leprous lay.

To þe temple he wente azen ⁊ þo hit was day-lyzt 133

To shewe him azen þe ffeste ⁊ and to his yn azen a-nlyzt.

þerfore me clupeþ þulke wyke ⁊ of penaunce and of pyne

ffor oure lord trauaylede þulke wyke ⁊ as hit were wip-oute

ffyne ; 136

As he dude er þulke wyke ⁊ þo he þe wordle wrouzte

He dude al-so þulke wyke ⁊ whanne he mankyn bouzte.

A Morwe as þe soneday ⁊ Ihesus ne abod namore,

Ak to Ierusalem wente azen ⁊ þo him hongrede sore. 140

He sey a flyger by þe weye ⁊ yleueod ffayre ynow,

Ak he ne ffound no ffrut þer-on ⁊ bote leues ⁊ bow. Returning on
Monday to Jeru-
salem he saw a
fig-tree without
fruit.

113 And a losne of þeoues 3e makieþ hit allas. 114 Ihesus in þe temple
þo al dai &c. 115 temple þo] temple. 116 and bad &c.] ⁊ þo þat
folc þis iseþ. 117 princes and þe preostes] preostes princes ⁊ maistres.
þat] oure louverdes. 118 of] in. azen him] azen. 120 sede] seide
anon. 121 nabbe 3e] ich habbe. 122 in þis manere] hem þis. 123
makedest] dost. 124 Dauid in his prophecie spac of þulke þing. 127
Ihesus] god. 129 vs cristene] cristene. 130 þing] dede. 132 3eode]
3eode anlyzt. 133 þo hit was] atte. 134 ffeste] heþe feste. azen
a-nlyzt] anlyzt. 136 hit were wip-oute] wip-oute. 138 dude al-so]
dude. whanne] þo. 140 þo] ⁊ þo.

He cursed the tree and it became dead as a stone. The disciples marvelled.

'Ne wexe *per* neuere eft', he sede.' 'no ffrut on þe,
ffor þou ne berest now in my neode.' 'no ffrut to helpe me.' 144
þe treo anon ffor-oldede.' as hit were an old ston;
þer by-leuede noþing grene.' þe disciples sede anon,
ffor wonder þo hi þis yseye.' 'lord', hi sede, 'how is þis?
Lo, þis ffiger as þou sedest.' ffor-olded is ywis.' 148

Jesus said, 'If any of you should bid a hill fall into the sea, and have no doubt, it would come to pass.'

Oure lord sede to his disciples.' '*ich* segge þow to soþe echon
þat whuch of þow so hete.' an hulle to ffallen anon
And ffallen a-doun in-to þe see.' ⁊ nadde þanne no drede
In his heorte ak leouede wel.' þat al þat he sede 152
Sholde by-ffalle.' siker he beo.' þat sholde him by-ffalle.
Perffore ich þow segge.' þat what þing among þow alle
þe wollep bydde, yleoueþ wel.' and hit shal þow beo ydo,
And þe shulleþ hit affonge.' and hit shal þow come to; 156

But when ye pray, see that ye forgive those who injure you, or God will not forgive your sin.'

Ak wanne þe in þoure orisouns.' and bedes wollep stonde,
Loke þat þe eueþ fforþiue.' þif ouzt is an honde
Of wrappe toward eny man.' þat þow hap mysdo,
þat þoure ffader þat in heuene is.' fforþiue þoure sunne also, 160
ffor þif þe nolde nouzt hem fforþiue.' ne þoure ffader ywis

[p. 187] Nele fforþiue þoure sunne nouzt.' þat in heuene is.'

In the temple Jesus saw a poor widow come and offer a farthing and said: 'She has given more than all the others.'

AS Ihesus sat in þe temple.' azen pulke þing
þat ymad was a maner wucche.' þat me dude yn offryng,
He byheld how þat folk.' *þer*-ynne hare goed caste, 165
And monye riche men.' hare goed also brouzte ffasten.
A pouere wydewe *þer* com.' and offrede a fferþing.
Oure lord clupede his disciples.' and sede ham þis þing. 168
'þis pouere wydewe, to soþe.' ich segge þow þis,
Hap more yleyd her.' þan alle þe opere ywis;
ffor alle þis opere habbeþ yleyd.' and in þis whucche ydo
Of þing þat hi hadde to mucche.' ak þis wydewe nouzt so, 172

143 eft] *om.* no] figer no. 146 by-leuede] ne bileuede on. þe disciples sede] his disciples. 147 lord hi sede] louerd. 149 ich segge þow to soþe] to soþe ich sigge þow. 150 þat] *om.* so] *om.* 151 ffallen] do him. in-to] in. 152 þat al] al. 153 Ich sigge þow alle siker þe beo hit &c. 155 Wollep bidde ⁊ yleoue wel hit schal come þow to. 156 shulleþ hit] hit schulle. þow come] come þow. 160 in heuene is] is in heuene. 161 nolde nouzt hem] nulleþ hit. 162 fforþiue þoure sunne nouzt] nozt forþeue þoure sinne. 164 þat me dude yn] to gaderi. 165 *þer*-ynne hare goed] here god þerinne. 166 also brouzte] brouzte. 168 sede] eschte. 169 segge þow] sigge. 170 þe] þis. 172 þing] þis þing. ak] ⁊.

ffor as ffor hure ayse ⁊ 3eo hap yleyd at ene
 Al hure goed þat 3eo hadde ⁊ and hure liflode al clene.
 Her we seop þat oure lord is ⁊ apayd vnylyche
 Of a lutel offryng of a pouere man ⁊ þan of a gret of a riche;
 Ak y ne segge nouȝt þat þe persone is so ⁊ þat in his [stede]
 auȝte beo,

But parsons
 don't always
 judge in this
 way.

ffor whanne his offryng is gret ⁊ him pinkeþ he may fleo.

TO his disciples oure lord sede ⁊ 'to soþe ich segge þis;

Bote þe corn of whete ⁊ þat on eorþe ffaller þis 180

Beo al ded and deffouled ⁊ hit by-leueþ al-one amys,

And 3if hit is ded hit wole bringe ⁊ mucche ffrut ywis.

Our Lord said:
 'Unless the
 grain of wheat
 die and decay it
 abides alone, but
 if it die it brings
 forth fruit.'

3e wyteþ wel bote sed ysowe ⁊ in eorþe by-gonne to chyne,

And him-sulf as ded þing were ⁊ ffor-to þe tyme þat hit ryne,

Hit ne bringeþ fforþ no ffrut ⁊ by oure lord hit was al-so, 185

þat he ne miȝte no soule sauȝ ⁊ bote he were to deþe ydo;

Ak ffurst he was in eorþe ysowe ⁊ ffram heuene wel heye,

And her deffouled to bringe ffrut ⁊ he in strong deþ gan

deye.

188

ffor oure lord him likneþ to whete ⁊ and to oper corn non,

perffore me makeþ his swete body ⁊ of þe whete-corn al-on.

That is why we
 make the Host
 of wheat and of
 no other grain.

'Who-so loueþ his soule wel' ⁊ oure lord seyþ also,

'þat his lif he mot leose ⁊ and beo to deþe ydo.

192

And who-so loueþ his soule her ⁊ in þe lif wipouten ende

He shal hure wytie euere-mo ⁊ and þider clene wende;

And who-so wole seruy me ⁊ he mot sywe me ywis,

And wher ich am ⁊ my seruauȝt ⁊ wip me ale-gate is;

196

And my ffader him wole honoure ⁊ who-so wole seruy me.

Now ich my soule destourbe ⁊ what þencheþ 3e ?

What shal ich segge now ⁊ ffader in þis stounde ?

'Who-so will
 serve me', Jesus
 said, 'must fol-
 low me, and my
 Father will
 honour him.
 Now is my soul
 disturbed.
 Father, what
 shall I say in
 this hour ?

200

Saue me per-ffore ⁊ ich a-lizte to grounde

173 as ffor hure ayse] al of hire meseise. yleyd] ido. 175 þat] hou.

176 a pouere] þe pore. a riche] þe riche. 177 persone is so] persones.

his] his stede. 179 þis] 3ou þis. 181 al] as. 182 And] Ac.

wole bringe] bringeþ. 184 were &c.] an vrþe al forduyne. 185

al-so] so. 188 her deffouled] defouled. he in strong deþ] in stronge

deþe he. 189 likneþ] eueneþ. 190 body] flesch. þe whete] whete.

193 And] Ac. loueþ] hateþ. 194 He shal hure] Hire he schal. þider

clene] clene þider. 196 my seruauȝt &c.] me-silf also mi seruauȝt is.

197 honoure] loue. wole seruy] serueþ. 198 ich] is. destourbe]

desturbed. what] whanne. 199 segge now] sigge.

I pray thee make
thy name clear
in me.'

A voice came
from heaven: 'I
have made thee
clear and will
again.'
Folk said that it
thundered.

To polie þe deþ, leoue fflader: þer-ffore bydde ich þe
Make now þi dede cler: and þi name on me.'

A voys þer com ffram heuene: þorw his holy bone
And sede, 'ich haue ymad þe cler: ⁊ ȝut ich wolle eftsone.'

þat folk þat stode and hurde: what oure lord sede, 205

Sede þat hit ponder was: and were somdel in drede;

And some sede hit was an aungel: and Ihesus sede þis,

'þis voys ne comeþ nouȝt ffor me: bote ffor ȝow ywis.' 208

[p. 188] As who seiþ 'nouȝt ffor me: þat wot al how hit is,

Ak ffor ȝow þat ȝe yseo: and by-leoue nouȝt amys.'

Jesus said: 'If
I be lifted up I
will draw all
things to me.'

Now is', quap oure lord: 'þe wordles Iugement; 211
Now worp þe prince of þis wordle: out ycast and
ywent;

And alle þing ich wolle to me drawe: ȝif ich beo an-
haunsed heye.'

This he said of
his death on the
road.

þat he sede ffor to shewe: what deþ he sholde deye;

ffor whanne he were an hey ydrawe: and on þe Rode ybrouȝt,

Ech þing he wolde to him bringe: and er nolde he nouȝt. 216

'We have
heard', the folk
said, 'that
Christ shall
never die. Why
speakest thou
thus?'

'We habbeþ yhurd of þe lawe': þe folk sede þo,

'þat crist worp wiþouten ende: and lyue shal eueremo;

And how seistou þat mannes sone: mot beo an-haunsed
heye?

What is he pulke mannes sone: ffor crist ne may nouȝt deye?'

'ȝut is', quap oure lord: 'in ȝow wel lutel liȝt.' 221

'Walk while ye
have light,'
Jesus said. 'Be-
lieve on the
light that ye
may be children
of light.'

Gop þe while ȝe habbeþ liȝt: þat may to ȝow ȝiue siȝt,

þat derkhede nyme ȝow nouȝt: ffor he þat is in derkhede

Gop forþ he not whoder: bote ȝif me him lede. 224

þerffore þe while ȝe habbeþ liȝt: and mowe liȝt yseo,

By-leoueþ on liȝt þat ȝe mowe: children of liȝt beo.'

þus spak Ihesus to þe folk: and þo hadde al ydo,

He wente him þanne ⁊ hudde him ffram ham: and byleuede
ham so. 228

201 þe deþ] deþ. 202 now] þu. 208 bote] ac. 209 As

who] ⁊ ho-so. 210 by-leoue] ne ileoue. 211 lord] suete louerd.

212 þis] þe. ywent] out iwend. 213 beo] am. 216 and] ac.

nolde] nemizte. 217 þe lawe] lawe. þe] þat. 218 ende] deþ.

lyue shal] bileueþ. 220 What] þat what. 221 lord] louerd þo.

in] on. 222 þe] ȝoure wey. þat may to ȝow ȝiue] to ȝyue ȝou. 223

nyme] ne nyme. 224 he] ⁊ he. ȝif me] me. 225 þerffore þe] þe.

ȝe] þat ȝe. mowe liȝt] liȝt mowe. 227 þe] þat. and þo] þo he.

228 wente him þanne] wende. so] also.

for þe wey eche eue ⁊ to Bethanye he nom,
 And byleuede þer al niȝt ⁊ and amorwe aȝen com.
 To þe temple þe tywersday ⁊ he wente wiþoute drede
 To preche þe ffolk more ⁊ and þis by-tale hem sede.
 ‘**A** Man was while an hosebonde ⁊ þat sette a gret vyne,
 And by-wallede hit aboute ⁊ and supþe atte ffyne
 He dalf þeron and arerede ⁊ al a tour amydde,
 And hurede him eorþ-tylyers ⁊ and so þat hit bytydde
 þat he wente a pilgrinage ⁊ and þo þe tyme was ney
 Of þe ffrut to gadery ⁊ of hynen he him by-sey,
 And sende to þo eorþ-tylyers ⁊ þat ffrut to vnderffonge.
 þe eorþ-tylyers þis hinen nome ⁊ and some in pyne stronge
 Hi bete and some slowe ⁊ and wiþ stones heuede þerto.
 þe lord sende ȝut mo hynen ⁊ and me dude ham also.
 Ate laste he sende his owen sone ⁊ a doun to ham and sede,
 Parauenture myn owe sone ⁊ hi wollep doute and drede.
 And þo þe eorþ tilyers yseye ⁊ his owen sone come,
 Bytwene ham hi sede, “lo þis is his heir” ⁊ and sone him nome.
 “Comeþ fforþ and quelle we him ⁊ we shulleþ echon
 Habbe his heritage to vs” ⁊ and so hi toke him anon
 And caste him out of þe vine ⁊ and slowe him al-so.
 Whonne þe lord of þe vyne comeþ ⁊ what wole he to ham do ?
 ‘He wole’ quap þis opere þo ⁊ ‘to strong dep and pyne
 Alle þe lupere brynge ⁊ and hury to opere men his vyne,
 þat shulleþ to him þat ffrut ȝeolde ⁊ whanne þe riȝte tyme is.’
 ‘Nabbe ȝe nouȝt,’ quap Ihesus ⁊ ‘in bok yrad þis ?
 þe ston þat þe beokleres ⁊ habbeþ goed yffounde,
 He is in þe heued of þe corner ⁊ yleyd and in þe grounde.’
 Of oure lord as þe bok seiþ ⁊ ymad is al þis,
 And in þe siȝte of oure eyen ⁊ a gret wonder hit is.

232 On Tuesday
Jesus preached
in the temple
and told this
parable.

A man planted
a vineyard and
hired earth-
tillers to tend
it and went a
pilgrimage.

237 When he sent
servants to
gather the fruit
the earth-tillers
mistreated
them.

244 At last he sent
his own son, but
the earth-tillers
seized him and
slew him.

252 When the lord
of the vineyard
comes he will
punish them.

Haven't you
read that the
stone the build-
[p. 189]

ers found good
is made head of
the corner ?

229 þe] þane. eue] day an eue. 230 niȝt] longe niȝt. 232 þe]
 þat. more] ȝute more. hem] om. 233 þat] ⁊. 234 hit] him.
 235 al a tour] a tour riȝt al. 238 of hynen] hyne. 240 þis hinen]
 him. 241 Hi bete and some] him beote summe and. 244 and] for.
 245 And þo] þo. come] iwis. 246 lo &c.] some lo his eir he is. 247
 quelle &c.] we schulle quelle him echon. 248 Habbe] ⁊ habbe. to
 vs &c.] whan he is ded hi nome him anon. 250 he to ham] we him.
 251 He] We. opere þo] opere. 252 Alle þe] þe. to opere men] oper
 men in. 253 to him þat] him þe. 255 þe] þis. 256 heued of
 þe corner] vrþe. 258 And in] In. a gret] gret.

The two walls
beside betoken
the old and the
new law.

þe twey walles þat beoþ by-side ⁊ to þe corner ydrawe
By-tokneþ vs to knowe ⁊ þe olde and þe nywe lawe. 260

To the Jews
Jesus said,
'God's kingdom
shall be taken
from you.

Oure lord crist was him-sulf ⁊ þe goode corner-ston
þat was amydde þe twey walles ⁊ and boþe brouȝte to on,
To þe lawe of cristendom ⁊ þat wyde by-gan to sprede.
And ȝut to þe gywes ⁊ oure lord þis word seðe: 264

Who falls on
this stone is
bruised, but he
on whom it falls
is crushed.'

'Ich segge to ȝou þat godes kyng-dom ⁊ ffram ȝow worþ ytake
And delyuered to pilke men ⁊ þat ffrut þerof wollep make.
He worþ debrused sone ⁊ þat ffalllep vp þis ston,
And vp whan þe ston ffalllep ⁊ he worþ deffouled anon.' 268

Vp þe ston ffalllep þulke man ⁊ þat of goeð byleoue is,
And ffor al þat wole synegy ⁊ and ofte do amys.
Pulke is lo debrused þere ⁊ ffor þe fallyng so stronge 271

And napeles he him may wiþdrawe ⁊ and godes grace affonge.
And vp whan þe ston ffalllep ⁊ he worþ deffouled, what man
he is

þat fforsakeþ god al out ⁊ and þerto ȝut doþ amys.
He nys somdel debrused nouȝt ⁊ ak deffouled al clene
As þe corn ygrounde in a Mulle ⁊ ⁊ nys nouȝt to by-mene. 276

It is better to
believe well and
do somewhat
amiss than to
forsake God en-
tirely.

Betere hit is to by-leoue wel ⁊ and somdel do amys
þan fforsake god al out ⁊ as ȝe mowe yseo ywis.
þo princes of þe preostes ⁊ and þe pharisees also
Hurde oure lordes tale ⁊ hi knewe wel þat þo 280
þat he seðe þat by ham ⁊ and wolde þo him [at-holden] ak hi lete
ffor hi doutede þat ffolk ⁊ and helde him a prophete.

The parable of
the king who
made a bridal
feast for his son.

IN þulke tyme Ihesus spak ⁊ to þe ffolk more
And seðe ham þis by-tale ⁊ of his holy lore. 284
'þe kyngdom of heuene ⁊ to a man ylich is
A kyng made to his sone ⁊ a gret Brudale ywis,

259 corner] vrþe. 260 Bitokneþ þe ley of parays ⁊ þe gywene lawe.
261 was him-sulf] was. corner] hurne. 262 boþe brouȝte] broȝte hem
boþe. 264 gywes] liþere gywes. þis word] þis. 265 to ȝou] ȝou.
266 to pilke] pulke. 267 He] ⁊ he. vþ] vpon. 268 deffouled]
debrused. 270 ffor alþeȝ he wole ȝut synewy &c. 271 þere] sore.
so stronge] stronge. 272 godes grace] grace of god. 273 vp] he vpe.
he worþ deffouled what] pulke. he] hit. 274 ȝut] om. 275 somdel
debrused nouȝt] nouȝt sumdel debrused. 276 precedes 275. þe corn]
corn. nys nouȝt] he nis nouȝt. 277 do amys] synful beo. 278
yseo ywis] her iseo. 279 þo] þe þe. of] ⁊. and þe] of. also] iwis.
280 þat þo] þis. 281 seðe þat] seide. þo him] at holden. 282
and] þat. 283 þe] þat. 284 ham þis] lo þane. 286 made]
þat makede.

And sende his seruauus to clupy ham ⁊ þat were ybede er
 To his Brudale ffor to come ⁊ ak hi nolde come per.
 Oper seruauuntz he sende an sede ⁊ " my mete ich haue, lo
 Al redy ymad, ffor my boles ⁊ and my capouns al-so
 Beop yslawe and of alle ping ⁊ redy is ynow per-to.
 Comeþ to þis Brudale " ⁊ ak þe opere hit nolde do
 Ak fforsoke hit and wente fforþ ⁊ and dude nouzt as þe wise.
 Some zeode in-to þe toun ⁊ and some aboute hare Marchaundise
 þe hynen þat were to ham ysend ⁊ hi ham nome wiþ wowe
 And helde ham in gret pyne ⁊ and wiþ shame ham slowe.
 þe Brudale þat þis kyng made ⁊ þe blisse of heuene hit is
 þat þe kyng of heuene ⁊ to his sone made ywis.
 His seruauus he sende adoun ⁊ as prophetes ffele
 To preche and to bydde men ⁊ to deserue heuenes wele.
 þat folk þat þo was in eorþe ⁊ fforsoke hit ynowe
 And þe prophetes þat Messageres were ⁊ al to grounde hi
 slowe.
 þe tale þat Ihesus byffore ⁊ in þe oper gospel sede
 Was of him-sulue þat þe gywes ⁊ slowe ffor his goede dede.
 þe vyne þat hi tylie sholde ⁊ þat was þe goede lawe
 Whar-þorw he wolde þe tylyeres ⁊ as his hynen to him drawe.
 þe seruauuntz, þat he sende after ffrut ⁊ þat þe hynen woundede
 sore,
 þat were þe prophetes ysend byffore ⁊ to teche þe rihte lore.
 þe seruauuntz þat he sende suppe ⁊ þat þe hynen slowe
 Aposteles hit were and Martyrs ⁊ þat þe lufere men to-drowe.
 His owen sone he sende suppe ⁊ þat þe gywes slowe and nome
 ffor enuye þat was ysene ⁊ whanne hi sede ylome,
 'zif we him letþ þus go fforþ ⁊ þat folk wole al to him wende,
 And þe folk of Rome ⁊ vs by-nyme ⁊ al oure power atten ende.'

When all was
 ready he sent
 servants to call
 the guests.
 They wouldn't
 come, and mis-
 treated the ser-
 vants.

Interpretation
 of this and the
 preceding para-
 ble.

[p. 190]

288 ak] z. 290 redy] zere. 291 of alle] alle. redy is] is prest.
 292 ak &c.] þis opere nolde hit do. 293 nouzt as þe wise] as þe vnwyse.
 294 zeode in-to] into. aboute] to. 295 were to ham] hem were. hi
 ham] somme hi. 296 shame] grete schame. 297 hit is] is. 298
 kyng] heze king. 299 seruauus] hynen. 300 men &c.] come to
 his brudale. 301 þo was in eorþe] was an vrþe þo. 302 þe] þis.
 þat messageres were] his messagers. hi slowe] slowe. 303 Ihesus]
 god. 305 hi] me. 306 hynen] owe hyne. 307 þe hynen] his.
 309 þe] his. 310-315 omitted.

The wicked
earth-tillers are
the Jews whose
city was taken
by Titus and
Vespasian.

perfore hi ate laste ⁊ hare lordes sone slowe, 315
And hare lord ham brouȝte to grounde ⁊ þe riȝt þat hi sholde
knowe ;

ffor he by-nom hare lond ⁊ and hare ffolk myd riȝte dome
þo Tytus and Vaspasianus ⁊ þe cite of Ierusalem nome.
Hare lond hi toke opere men ⁊ and hare ffrut per wipoute
ffor per ne moste neuereft ⁊ no gyw ⁊ wonye per aboute. 320
ȝut þe shrewen per-afterward ⁊ þe Martyrs lete aquelle
As in þe tale byffore ⁊ hit seȝþ in þe gospelle.

More about the
bridal-feasts :
all manner of
folk were finally
bidden.

þo þe kyng hurde his men yslawe ⁊ wroþ he was ynow.
His ost he sende fforþ ⁊ and þe Manquelleres slow, 324
And fforbrende hare tounes ; ⁊ and to his seruauȝt he sede,

‘ þe Brudale is al redy, ⁊ ak þulke þat ȝe bede
Worpi nere nouȝt þerto ⁊ ak goþ to þe weyes ende
And alle þat ȝe ffindeþ per ⁊ to þe brudale he sende.’ 328
þe seruauȝtȝ ȝeode out hare wey ⁊ and euere as hi stode
Hi gaderede alle þat hi ffounde ⁊ lupere and eke þe goede.
þe Brudale was al yffuld ⁊ of men atte mete,

At the feast the
king saw a man
sitting without
a feast-cloth and
was wroth.
‘ Cast him out
into the dark-
ness,’ he bade.

So þat þe kyng com yn ⁊ ffor to seo ham ete. 332
þo sey he a man þere ⁊ þat in no ffeeste cloþ
Nas ycloped at þe Brudale ⁊ þo was þe kyng wroþ
And sede ; ‘ ffreond, how come þou hider ⁊ þat ffeeste cloþ nastou
non

On þe ⁊ and þis opere ⁊ ne spak to him word non. 336
‘ Byndeþ him hond ⁊ fet ’ ⁊ þe kyng anon sede
To his seruauȝtȝ ⁊ ‘ and doþ him ⁊ out in derkbede.
þer shal beo wop ynow ⁊ and gruntyng of tep al-so,
ffor ycleped per beoþ mony on ⁊ ak ffewe ychose þerto.’ 340
As a bisschop clupeþ to godes bord ⁊ monye as ȝe seoþ
And makeþ ham persouns ⁊ preostes ⁊ ak ffewe per-to worþi
beoþ.

The bishop or-
dains many
priests, but few
are worthy.

316 And hare] Oure. þe riȝt &c.] siþþe wipoute woȝe. 317 myd]
bi. 318 þe cite of] om. 321 lete] gonne. 322 þe tale] bitale
her. 324 His ost he] ⁊ his ost. þe] þis. 325 to his seruauȝtȝ
he] his seriantȝ. 326 þe] ⁊ þe. redy] ȝare. 327 nere] nere hi.
328 he] ȝe. 329 seruauȝtȝ ȝeode] seriantȝ wende. hare] in þe. 330
Hi] om. lupere and eke] þe liþere ⁊. 335, 336 omitted. 337 þe
kyng anon] anon þe king. 338 seruauȝtȝ] seriantȝ. out] wipoute.
340 mony on] ynowe. ak] ⁊. 341 monye] meni men. 342
persouns ⁊ preostes] preostes ⁊ persones. ak ffewe þerto] ⁊ meni.

perffore hi nabbeþ on no ffeste cloþ ⁊ perffore atte ffyne
Hi worþ ybounde and ycast ⁊ in-to helles pyne.

They have on no
feast-cloth; they
shall be cast into
hell.

344

TO his disciples *Ihesus* ⁊ pis tale tolde ywis;

þat þe kyngdom of heuene ⁊ ffor-soþe yliche is
To tresour yhud ⁊ in a ffeld wel ffaste,

The kingdom of
heaven is like
treasure hid in
a field. He who
finds it sells all
to buy the field.

And whanne a man hit hap yffounde ⁊ he gop ate laste
And hudeþ þat tresour, ⁊ and ofte gop þer-to

349

And sulleþ al þat he hap ⁊ and þe ffeld byggeþ so.

[p. 191]

[þe tresour þat is ihud ⁊ godes lawe hit is

350 a The hid treasure
is God's law.

þat is ihud in a feld ⁊ in gode manes hurte iwis,

b

⁊ whan a man hap ifonde ⁊ pulke tresour so

c

He gop ⁊ sulþ al þat he hap ⁊ ⁊ byþ þe feld þerto.]

d

þat is þat a man shal sulle ⁊ al þat he hap ywis

ffor to bygge godes lawe ⁊ and heuene-riche blis.

352

þe kyngdom ȝut of heuene ⁊ to a Marchaunt iliche is

Again it is like
a merchant who
sees a precious
pearl and sells
all to buy it.

þat seop preciose stones ⁊ and Margarytes ywis;

ffor a precious Margarithite ⁊ whanne he hap yffounde

He gop and sulleþ al þat he hap ⁊ and byggeþ hit in a stounde.

þe ston þat is precious, ⁊ oper a Margarithite ywis,

357

þat is a man of goed lif ⁊ þat wel precious is;

And whanne a Marchaunt him hap yffounde ⁊ þat is god þat is
wel ffawe,

þat solde his swete heorte blod ⁊ to bringe him to his lawe. 360

þe kyngdom of heuene ⁊ ylich is to a gret net

þat is ycast in þe see, ⁊ and gadereþ þer-wip gret met

Of eche manere ffisch ynow ⁊ of smale and of grete,

And whanne hit was ffol me drow hit vp ⁊ ⁊ by þe brym hi
sete,

364

Or it is like a
net cast in the
sea which
catches all man-
ner of fish; but
the bad fish are
cast into the
flood.

And chose out and caste in hare vesseles ⁊ alle þat were goede,

And þe ffisch þat luper was ⁊ caste out in-to þe fflood.

343 perffore] Ac.

345 pis tale tolde] seide pis bitale.

346 þat

þe] þe. ffor-soþe yliche] iliche ymaked.

347 To] þe. yhud] þat is

ihud. wel ffaste] faste.

348 he] ⁊.

349 hudeþ] hud. þat] þe.

and ofte] for ioye þerof he.

350 al] alle þing.

þe ffeld byggeþ] byþ

þane feld. 353 ȝut of] of. to a] a.

354 seop] scheweþ þe. and mar-

garytes] margaretes. 355 ffor a] ⁊ þane.

356 He gop] ⁊ gop.

357 oper a] þe. 359 þat is god þat is wel] he gop anon.

360 ⁊ silþ al þat

he hap for to bugge his lawe.

361 ylich] ȝut iliche. to a] a.

362

þer-wip] wip.

364 whanne] þo. me] hi.

365 alle þat were] þe.

366 in-to] in.

The net is
preaching; the
sea is the world;

the fishers are
preachers who
go about to win
souls.

At doomsday
the angels shall
separate the
wicked from the
good and cast
them in the fire.

Jesus foretold
the destruction
of the temple to
his disciples.

They asked:
'When shall
this be and
what shall be
the sign?'

þe net lo is þe preching ⁊ of oure lordes lawe ;
þe see is þe wordle ⁊ in wham ⁊ me shal hit drawe. 368
þe fflisscheres beop þe prechours ⁊ þat goþ aboute wip hare gynne
And precheþ her in þis wordle ⁊ goode soules to wynne,
And whanne hare net is ffol ynow ⁊ hi gunnep to gadery fflaste
þe goode in-to heuene blisse ⁊ þe lufere away hi wole caste.
In þe endyng of þe world ⁊ riȝt so hit worþ ydo, 373
ffor þe aungeles shulleþ wende ⁊ and departy a-two
þe lufere ffram þe goode ⁊ and in þe chymeney caste
Of ffur, ⁊ and pere worþ wop ⁊ and gruntyng of teþ fflaste. 376
Habbe ȝe vnderstonde þis ⁊ 'ȝe' hi sede ywis,
'Hit is soþ and noþing lees ⁊ as hit ywrite is.'
ȝut is heuene blisse yliche ⁊ to a goed hosebonde ⁊ trywe
þat bringeþ fforþ his tresour ⁊ þe olde and eke þe nywe. 380
þat beop þis prechours ⁊ þat þe ffolk shulle preche
Of þe nywe lawe and of þe olde ⁊ ⁊ so hare tresour teche.
Ihesus wente out of þe temple ⁊ þo hit was aȝen eue
As hit his wone was to Bethanye ⁊ al niȝt þer to by-leue. 384
þe disciples come þo to him ⁊ þo he was þer-oute
And axede him þe stat of þe temple ⁊ as hi ȝeode aboute.
'Y-seo ȝe al þis,' quap oure lord ⁊ 'ich segge to soþe anon
Ne shal no ston leue vp oþer ⁊ þat hi ne worþ beo destruyd
echon.' 388
By tytus and Vaspasian ⁊ oure lord sede al þis
þat þe gywes and þe temple ek ⁊ to grounde bronȝte ywis.
AS Iesus sat vp þe hul ⁊ of Olyuet stilleliche 391
His disciples to him come ⁊ and sede to him priueliche,
'Sey vs whanne al þis worþ ⁊ and also som toknyng
Of þi comyng at domesday ⁊ and of þe wordles
endynge.'

368 wordle] wrecchede wordle. in] of. 369 goþ aboute wip] prechieþ
mid al. 370 And] þat. 372 hi wole] to. 373 so] þus. 375
þe chymeney] chymeney hem. 376 ffur] ire. 377 ȝe hi sede] hi
seide ȝe. 378 þerfore quap oure louerd ech maystre þat wys is. 379
Iliche worþ in heuene blis ⁊ a god &c. 380 his] of his. 381 beop
þis] is þat þe. þat þe] þat. 382 Of] ⁊. and of] ⁊. and so hare]
as. 384 hit his wone was] his wone. al niȝt þer to] a-niȝt þer. 385
come þo] come. þer-oute] wipoute. 386 hi ȝeode] he bihuld. 387 to
soþe anon] so soþ as ston. 388 Ne schal bileue vp an oþer þat ne worþ
vp anon. 389 lord] om. 390 ek] om. 392 to him] om.

þo answerede Ihesus ⁊ to his disciples and sede þis :

‘Lokep wel þat no man ⁊ by-traye 3ow amys,

ffor aboute in my name ⁊ þer wolleþ monye gon

And segge aboute, “ich am crist”, and bytraye monye on,’

As was by symon magus ⁊ and monye oper al-so

And worþ by auntecrist ⁊ atte wordles ende þerto.

‘**B** Atayles and tresouns ⁊ whanne 3e mowe yseo
Ne drede 3ow nouȝt ⁊ ffor hit mot ⁊ neode so ffurst beo,
Ak þe endyng of þe wordle ⁊ ne worþ nouȝt þanne
anon.

Jesus said : ‘See
that no man be-
tray you ; many
[p. 192]
shall go about in
my name.

400

Fear not when
ye see battles,
for these must
come first.

þat folk shal arise aboute ⁊ ech aȝen oper mony on

And kyngdom aȝen oper ⁊ and þe eorþ-byne al-so.

Muche shal beo þe manqualm ⁊ and gret hunger þerto ⁊

And of heuene shal eke beo ⁊ wel dredffol tydyng,

And þis ne worþ of sorwe ⁊ bote as þe bygunnyng,

ffor þat folk wole 3ow pursuwy ⁊ and in gret anguisse ynow

Do 3ow in warde and drawe ek ⁊ and sle 3ut monye of 3ow ;

And to alle men ffor my name ⁊ in hate 3e shulleþ beo.

ffram þe riȝte byleoue also ⁊ mony ffor drede shulleþ fflco,

And ech shal bytraye oper ⁊ and hatye oper al-so ;

And mony false prophetes ⁊ shulleþ arise þerto

And bytraye mony on ⁊ and ffor wikkede dede

Muche worþ among ham ⁊ loue yhated ⁊ goed dede,

ffor mony worþ al naked ⁊ and who-so dureþ ffaste

To his lyues ende in goednesse ⁊ he worþ sauf atte laste.

Whanne 3e beoþ ffor my name ⁊ by-ffore kynges ybrouȝt

And ydrawe, ne þenkeþ ⁊ on 3oure answer nouȝt ;

ffor ich wolle ȝiue 3ow moup ⁊ and wisdom ⁊ to whan non of
3oure ffon

Ne shal wiþ-segge nouȝt a word ⁊ to non of 3ow euerichon.

Folk will perse-
cute you and ye
shall be hated
of all men.

Many false pro-
phets shall arise.

But he who en-
dures steadfast
shall be saved.

395 to his] his. sede] hem seide. 396 by-traye] ne bitraye. 397

monye] meni on. 398 ich am] þat he is. 399 monye] bi meni.

400 ⁊ worþ atte wordles ende bi antecrist þerto. 402 neode so ffurst]

ffurst nede. 403 Ak þe] Attan. 404 ffor folc aboute shal arise

aȝen &c. 405 þe eorþ-byne] vrþegriþe. 407 tydyng] tokninge.

408 þis] þus. 409 wole 3ow] 3ou wole þanne. in gret] om. 410

ek] 3ou. 3ut monye of 3ow] 3ou wouȝ. 412 ffram þe] ⁊ fram. also

mony for drede] for drede meni. 416 Muche] To moche. yhated

⁊ goed dede] ⁊ godhede. 417 Of meni worþ al akeled ⁊ ho-so &c.

420 on] of. nouȝt] riȝt nouȝt. 421 ȝiue 3ow moup and] 3ou ȝeue meni a.

whan non] ware. 422 shal] shal me. to non &c.] ne wiȝsigge 3ou

nouȝt on.

Fortify your
souls with
patience.

Near doomsday
shall be such
sorrow as was
never before.

3e worþ ynome of 3our kyn ⁊ and of 3our breþeren also,
Of 3oure Meyes and 3oure ffreondes ⁊ and to hard deþ ydo; 424

Ak þe leste her of 3oure heued ⁊ ne worþ ylore amys,
ffor in 3oure pacience 3e shulleþ ⁊ 3oure soules wytie ywis.

And aȝen þe day of dome ⁊ such sorwe shal beo

þat ffram þe bygunnyng of þe wordle ⁊ me ne miȝte non such
yseo; 428

So þat he þat is in house ⁊ nele nouȝt aȝen go

To ffeche þing þat he haþ fforȝute ⁊ ne þat his is neuere-þe-
mo.

In þe ffeild he nele turne aȝen ⁊ his curtel ffor to ffeite,

Ne he ne worþ muche by-grad þere ⁊ þat shal oþer dette; 432

And men ne mowe nouȝt beo ysaued ⁊ bote þe dayes yshorted
were,

Ak þe dayes ffor goode men ⁊ worþ yshorted þere.

ffalse prophetes shulleþ arise ⁊ and in þe mysbyleoue bringe

3e þe beste men ich am adrad ⁊ myd hare ffalse toknyng. 436

Whanne þe beste men as ihesu seiþ ⁊ shulleþ hare pouȝt wende

What shulleþ suche ffoles as we beoþ ⁊ do bote god vs grace
sende ?

These signs shall
last three years
and a half.

The sun, moon,
and stars shall
show great
signs; the
pillars of heaven
shall be moved.

þreo ȝer and an half ⁊ þese toknynges so stronge

Shulleþ yleste as hit is ywrite ⁊ ⁊ þat wole vs pinche longe. 440

Gret toknyng in sonne and mone ⁊ ⁊ in sterres worþ
y-do

And of men in eorþe ⁊ gret destresse al-so

ffor þe gret soun of þe see ⁊ and of þe grete wawe; 443

[p. 193] þanne shulleþ men bygunne to kele ⁊ and hare heorte wiþdrawe

ffor drede þat man shal þanne ⁊ in-to al þe wordle yseo,

ffor þe uertues of heuene ⁊ shulleþ þanne ymeoued beo,

ffor þe sulue pyleres of heuene ⁊ as seint Ion while sede

And þe aungeles al-so echon ⁊ shulleþ quake ffor drede, 448

424 3oure] of 3oure. hard] om.

ylore] ibore.

426 pacience] suffrance.

425 Ak þe leste] ⁊ atte laste o.

427 sorwe] wouȝ.

428

þat] ⁊. non] no.

430 þat his &c.] he þat is noþe-mo.

431 he

nele] nele noȝt.

431 ffette] fecche.

432 worþ] worþ noȝt. þere]

om. dette] drecche.

433 beo ysaued] isaued beo.

435 þe

mysbyleoue] misbileue.

436 3e þe] þe.

437 wende] so wende.

438 do] om.

439 and an] schulleþ in on.

440 Shulleþ] om.

is] om. wole vs pinche] worþ wel.

442 in] an.

443 of þe] þe.

444 to kele] akele.

445 drede] þe drede. man shal þanne] me þanne

schal. in-to] in. 446 ymeoued] ymenged.

And þat he wolde fflawe him-self beo in helle pyne
 Al þe while þe dom ylaste : to haue grace atte fyne.
 Whanne þe aungeles shulleþ in such drede : ⁊ þe pilers of
 heuene beo

Even the angels
 shall fear.

451

We þat beoþ so ffol of surne : whoder shulle we þanne fflleo ?

'And þanne one Mannes sone : hi shulleþ seo in hare sizte,

Then shall "one
 man's Son" light
 down in a cloud.

And in a cloude lihte adoun : and come wiþ gret mihte ;

And whanne þis toknynges : by-gunneþ ffor to beo,

þoure eyen hebbeþ an hey : and aboute þow þat ȝe seo, 456

ffor þoure raunsoun is ney : þat worþ ffor þow ydo.

By-holdeþ þe ffyger : and opere treos al-so.

Whanne hi bringeþ of ham ffrut : þanne ȝe wel wyteþ is

þat somer is ney ycome : in such manere ywis 460

Whanne ȝe seoþ such toknyng : so grislich some,

When ye see
 such grisly signs
 know that God's
 kingdom is nigh
 come.'

Wyteþ of godes kyngdom : þat he is ney ycome.

ffor ich segge þow to soþe : þat þis kynde þat now is

Ne shal neuere passy away : ffor-to hit beo ydo al þis ; 464

ffor heuene and eorþe passi shulleþ : and as ffor-olded beo,

Ak þe wordes þat ich speke : ne shulleþ neuere passy ffram me.

þat me ne shal in dede riht : as ich ham sede, yseo.

Ak heuene and eorþe : boþe shulleþ ymeoued beo, 468

As atte wordles ende : beo ychaunged atte laste ;

Ak þe wordes þat ich speke ; shulleþ euere by-leue ffaste.'

þe kynde as þe gospel seyþ : ne shal nouzt away wende, 471

The race of the
 Jews shall re-
 main to the end
 and shall then
 be converted to
 Christianity.

þat is þe kynde of gywes : þat leue shal ffor-to þe laste ende.

Hit shal byleue ffor-to domesday : and þanne chaunge hare

lawe,

And þanne hi shulleþ to cristendom : alle clanliche drawe ;

And ffor þis word of þe gospel : þis heye men þat beoþ

Letep ham Iybbe among vs : as ȝe now yseoþ. 476

449 he] hi. fflawe him-self] falle hem-silue ⁊. 450 to] for 452

þanne] om. 453 hi] om. 454 And] om. 456 eyen hebbeþ]

heued. and &c.] aboute forto seo. 458 opere] þopere. 459 þanne

&c.] ȝe witeþ wel þanne þis. 463 þat now is] iwis. 464 ffor-

to] er. 465 as] al. 466 þe] myne. passy ffram me] mo. 467

þe cunde þat þe godspel saiþ ne schal neuere awei teo (repeated at v. 471).

468 Ac heuene schulle ȝut ⁊ vrþe boþe ynewed beo. 470 euere]

om. 471 as] þat. 472 gywes] þe gywes. þat leue shal] þat.

473 Hit shal] Schulle. ffor-to] aȝen. 475 word] worþ. 476 now

yseoþ] mowe iseo.

- 3ut seiþ þe gospel more ⁊ as 3e mowe her yseo
 þat of þe day ne of þe tyme ⁊ whanne domesday shal beo
 Not no man ne halwe non ⁊ ne aungeles also none, 479
 Ne non of þe companye of heuene ⁊ bote god him-sulf al-one;
 ffor-as-muche as godes sone ⁊ haþ oure kynde ynome,
 He ne shal ywyte of domesday ⁊ riȝt nouȝt ar he come.
 As hit ffele in þulke tyme ⁊ riȝt at Noes fflode
 þat men ete and dronke ⁊ and ne þouȝte bote goede, 484
 And eche manere dede wrouȝte ⁊ and weddede womman,
 ffor-to þat com ham vp-on ⁊ þo þe fflod bygan.
 Also men shulleþ ate domesday ⁊ alle hare workes do,
 And beolde and rere ⁊ weddy wyues ⁊ ⁊ ffeistes make also, 488
 Riȝt ffor to þe deþ come ham vp-on ⁊ ⁊ hi shulleþ seo þanne
 alizte
 One mannes sone in þe cloudes ⁊ of heuene wiþ grete miȝte.
 [p. 194] fforþ riȝt as ffram þe Est in-to þe west ⁊ þe liztnyng smyt to
 grounde,
 As quycklich godes sone ⁊ shal adoun lizte in a stounde. 492
 þe sonne shal þar aȝen ⁊ derk and swart by-come;
 þe mone shal ȝiue no lizt ⁊ þe sterres worþ beo al by-nome;
 And atten ende ⁊ whanne al such þing is do
 þe wordle shal by-leue al stille ⁊ and in goed pes al-so 496
 Some deyeþ by-flore domesday ⁊ so þat a-lyue non
 Ne worþ of þe dom ywar ⁊ ar he lygge as ded as ston.
 ‘And þanne shal me in þe ffeelde ⁊ twey ffeławes ffynde;
 þe on shal beo to ioȝe ynome ⁊ þe oper by-leue by-hynde. 500
 Tweye shulleþ grynde ate mulle ⁊ ⁊ þe on shal also
 By-leue by-hynde, and þe oper ⁊ to þe ioȝe of heuene beo ydo.
 And tweye shulleþ lygge in one bedde ⁊ and þat on worþ ytake
 Among þe goede to heuene ⁊ and þat oper fforsake.’ 504
 477 omitted. 479 aungeles also] angel noþe-mo. 480 companye]
 ffereden. god him-sulf] god. 482 come] beo icome. 483 in þulke
 tyme] bifore. at] bifore. 484 goede] of god. 486 ffor to riȝt deþ
 vpe hem cam & þat &c. 487 omitted. 488 beolde] bulde. rere]
 rerde. weddy] weddede. ffeistes make] makede ffeaste. 489 ham vp-on]
 on hem. ⁊ hi shulleþ seo] hi shulleþ. 491 þe Est in-to þe] est to.
 492 godes sone shal adoun] schal godes sone. 494 shal] ne schal.
 worþ beo] worþeþ. 495 And] þe lizt also. 497 deyeþ by-flore] while
 aȝen. 498 ar he] bote. ded as] a ded. 499 shal me] me schal. 500
 þe on] þat on. 501 Tweye] ⁊ tueye. þe on] on. 502 þe oper] þat oper.
 to þe &c.] schal to ioȝe go. 503 þat on] þoþer. 504 þat oper] þoþer.

No man knows
when doomsday
shall be;

it shall come
without warn-
ing like Noah's
flood.

Ye shall see
'one man's Son'
in the clouds of
heaven.

Sun, moon, and
stars shall lose
their light.

Of two fellows
in the field, at
the mill, or in
bed, one shall
be taken, the
other left.

Al þis, lo oure lord seȝp. ⁊ þat me sholde þat sope yseo
þat of eche muste men ⁊ some sholde ysaued beo,
And some also to helle go. ⁊ in eche muste perffore
A man may as him lykeþ. ⁊ beo ysaued oþer ffor-lore.

Some of every
craft shall be
saved, some
shall go to hell.

508

TO his disciples Ihesus sede. ⁊ 'lokeþ aboute ffaste

And wakeþ and byddeþ ȝoure bedes. ⁊ ffor ȝe nuteþ ate laste Wake and bid
your heads.

Whanne þe tyme shal beo. ⁊ as man þat were ygo

A pilgrinage, and his hows. ⁊ hadde by-leued þo 512

To his seruauȝt ⁊ ȝaf ham miȝte. ⁊ eche manere dede to do.

He het his ȝatwarde. ⁊ þat he woke also.

Wakeþ þanne ffor ȝe nuteþ. ⁊ whanne þe lord comeþ ywis,

At eue oþer at mydnyȝt. ⁊ oþer whanne cokkes crowe is, 516

Oþer erlich in þe morwning. ⁊ þat whanne he comeþ atte

Ye know not
whether your
lord shall come
at eue, mid-
night, or cock-
crow.

laste

Sodeynliche þat he ne ffynde. ⁊ ȝow slepyȝe to ffaste.

þat ich segge to ȝow ich segge to alle. ⁊ þat ȝe beo ywar.

Al þis oure lord to vs seȝp. ⁊ þat we ne ffallē in þe deuēles
gar

Aȝen þe day of dome. ⁊ ffor we nuteþ whanne he is. 521

ȝut prechede oure lord. ⁊ to his disciples and sede þis.

'Wakeþ ffor ȝe nuteþ. ⁊ whanne ne whuche tyde

Oure lord wole come to ȝow. ⁊ ffor ȝe wyteþ þis syde, 524

þat ȝif þe hosebonde wiste. ⁊ þe tyme ⁊ þe stounde

Whanne þe þeof wolde come. ⁊ wake he wolde ffor to him
ffounde

If the house-
holder had
known when
the thief was to
come he would
have kept
awake.

And nolde him soffry nouȝt. ⁊ his hous to vndermyne;

perffore ȝe al-so redy beoþ. ⁊ and so warneþ alle myne. 528

ffor one mannes sone. ⁊ wole adoun to ȝow a-liȝte

þe tyme þat ȝe ne wenēþ nouȝt. ⁊ among ȝow cupe his miȝte.

505 lo] om. sholde þat] schal to. 506 sholde ysaued] schulle.
507 in] of. 508 A man] Ac man. him lykeþ] he wole him-silf.
509 Ihesus] oure loured. 510 nuteþ] nute noȝt. 513 To his
seruauȝt] His seriantȝ. 514 He het] ⁊ het faste. 516 At eue]
In þe euening. 518 he] he ȝou. ȝow slepyȝe to] alle aslepe. 519
to ȝow] ȝou. to alle] alle. 520 þis] þat. to vs seȝp] saiþ. ne ffallē &c.]
beo euere ȝare. 522 prechede] precheþ. lord] loured more ⁊. and
sede] saiþ. 523 nuteþ] nuteþ noȝt. 524 syde] wyde. 525
þat] for. 526 ffor to him ffounde] to grounde. 528 perfore ȝe also
god beoþ iwar atte fyne. 529 one] om. 530 ne wenēþ] nuteþ.
among] aȝe.

Ten maidens
took their lamps
and went to
meet the spouse;
five wise ones
took along oil,
five foolish ones
didn't.

[p. 195]

The wise are
those who lead
clean lives and
forsake the
devil.

The foolish are
Christians who
do good deeds
for bobance and
not for love of
God.

I Esus sede a by-tale ⁊ to his disciples þis :
 ' þe kyngdom of heuene ⁊ to ten Maydenes yliche is 531
 þat hare lampes nome ⁊ and wente aȝen hare spouse ;
 Of ham were ffyue wise ⁊ and ffyue ffoles in house.
 Ak þe ffyue toke hare lampes ⁊ and þer-ynne oyle bere 535
 þe oþer ffyue non oyle hadde ⁊ ⁊ perffore as ffoles yholde hi were,
 Ak þulke þat wise were ⁊ in hare vesseles ne fforȝute nouȝt þis
 To nyme oyle wip ham ⁊ in hare lampes ywis.
 Þis ten maydenes what beoþ hi ⁊ þat heuene ylich is,
 þat hare lampes nome and wente ⁊ aȝen hare spouse ywis ? 540
 Of ham were ffyue wise ⁊ and ffyue ffoles also.
 þe wise clene lif ladde ⁊ and in þonkyng to god redi were
 eueremo.
 No ffolye of fflesches wille ⁊ ak al þorw þe teon hestes
 Ledep hare lif in clannesse ⁊ ⁊ so hi mowe come to heuenelich
 ffestes. 544
 Þis maydenes nome hare lampes ⁊ þo hi þe deuēl fforsoke
 And þat liȝt of godes lawe ⁊ þorw cristendom toke.
 Aȝen hare spouse hi ȝeode fforþ ⁊ þo hi cristendom nome,
 And þe by-leoue of holy chirche ⁊ ham made aȝen oure lord
 come. 548
 Ak þe ffyue of ham ffoles were ⁊ þat al-so hare lampes ffette,
 þat were lo cristene men ⁊ þat hare ffyue wyttes by-sette
 In clannesse and in goede lyue ⁊ in dede and in þouȝt,
 And al ffor bobaunse of þe wordle ⁊ ⁊ ffor þe loue of god nouȝt.
 Þeos beoþ lo ampty lampes ⁊ and wip-ynne oyle non ; 553
 þer nys no grace of god wip-ynne ⁊ suche men neuere on,
 Ak affongeþ her hare mede ⁊ and non oyle wip-ynne
 Nabbep ⁊ to tende godes liȝt ⁊ his swete grace to wynne. 556
 Ak þe ffyue þat wise were ⁊ oyle wip ham ffette,
 þat beoþ alle þat hare ffyue wyttes ⁊ in alle clannesse by-sette,

531 Ihesus in bitale to his disciples seide þis. 532 to] om. 533
 þat is ech maner folc þat ne wilneþ nouȝt amis. 533-542 omitted. 543
 al þorw] þurh. 544 Lede his lyf in clannisse þus comeþ he lo to feste.
 545 deuēl] deuēlen. 548 ham made &c.] aȝen oure louerd hi come.
 549 þe] om. al-so hare lampes] here lampen alle. 550 by-sette]
 sette. 551 and] om. in þouȝt] nouȝt in þouȝt. 552 And al] Ac
 al, þe loue] loue. 553 beoþ] bere. 554 þat is no grace wip-inne
 god for suche men echon. 555 Ak affongeþ her] Afongeþ her al.
 556 his swete] godes. 558 beoþ] is. hare] hi here. alle] om.

- And cler oyle wiþinne nome.' and godes grace tende,
 And al hare þouȝt and dede.' to Ihesu cristes likyng wende. 560
 As þe spouse alizte ham to seo.' he made ham atte laste
 To swoddry euerichone.' and slepe alle þo ffaste.
 At mydnyȝt þe cry was ymad.' 'þe spouse comeþ anon.'
 Þo þer ȝeode aȝen him.' þe Maydenes euerichon 564
 And arise and made ffurst.' hare lampes al ȝare.
 Þo sede þe ffoles to þe wise.' þat were byffore yware,
 'ȝineþ vs of ȝoure oyle.' ffor oure lampes beoþ oute.'
 Þo answerede þe wise.' and sede, 'we beoþ in doute 568
 Lest þer ne beo ynow.' to vs and to ȝow also;
 Gop raper to þe sulleres.' and byggeþ ynow þerto.'
 Þe while hi ȝeode oyle to bygge.' þe spouse þanne com,
 And þulke þat redi were.' in-to þe brudale he nom. 572
 Þe opere ffoole maydenes.' þat in-to þe toun wende,
 Þo þe ȝat was ymad ffast.' hi come atten ende.
 'Lord.' lord.' hi sede, 'vndo.' and he answerede ⁊ sede,
 'Ich segge ȝow to soþe.' y not noþing of ȝoure dede.' 576
 Wakeþ ffaste ffor ȝe nuteþ.' þe day ne þe tyde
 Whanne ȝe shulleþ to þe dom come.' ne how longe ȝe shulleþ
 abyde. This is a warn-
 ing of the day
 of doom, that ye
 be found ready.
 Al þis is of þe day of dome.' þat ȝe mowe of-care
 þat ȝe nuteþ whanne he worþ.' ne whanne ȝe hennes shulleþ
 ffare. 580
 Þerffore ȝut he byddeþ vs wake.' euere to beo ȝare,
 And whanne þe spouse wole come.' we shulleþ beo vnyware.
 Ak þfor he made a lutel bydyng.' hi gonne to slepe echon,
 As who-so abydeþ longe a þing.' and þanne comeþ non. 584
- 560 and dede] in o dede. cristes likyng] hadde. After 560 Harl. adds
 two lines; see Notes. 561 As þe spouse a lute abode makede him atte
 laste. 562 To] Hi gonne to. slepe alle þo] also to slepe. 564 Þo
 þer ȝeode] Gop forþ alle. euerichon] þo echon. 565 And arise] Arise.
 567 oute] al oute. 568 beoþ] beoþ alle. 569 ynow] noȝt ynow.
 571 oyle to bygge] to bugge eoli. þanne] om. 572 þat redi were in-to
 þe] in wiþ hem þat were ȝare to. 573 follows 574. 574 ⁊ þe ȝat was
 anon ymakd þo come attan ende. 573 þopere maidenēs þe foles ⁊
 wende in to wende. 576 noþing] noȝt. 578 þe dom come] dome.
 579 þis is] þus. ȝe mowe of-care] we mowe beo in care. 580 ȝe nuteþ
 whanne] we nute neuere whan. ȝe hennes shulleþ] we hunne. 581 ȝut
 he byddeþ] he het. 582 Ac whan þe spouse wolde come þe maidenēs
 nere iwar. 583 bydyng] abode. echon] anon. 584 comeþ] ne comeþ.

[p. 196] Do was þe cri al vnywar ⁊ at mydnyȝt ymad so
 Of aungeles þat blewe hare beome ⁊ 'her is þe spouse, lo!'
 þat cri worþ dredffol ⁊ ffor so hey nys soule non
 In heuene ne so low in helle ⁊ þat ne shulleþ hit hure anon. 588
 þe Maydenes hare lampes diȝte ⁊ and hadde ynome hede
 And ffor hare goedhede ⁊ hopede to habbe mede.
 þe ffoles bede þo þe wise ⁊ som of hare oyle þere
 And helpe tende hare lampes ⁊ ffor hi aqueynt were, 592
 ffor hi hopede þat hare clene lif ⁊ of whan hi were so proute
 Hadde liȝt þer by-flore god. ⁊ þo was hit al oute
 ffor hi dude al in siȝte of men ⁊ and in vuel pouȝt.
 þerffore hi hadde hare mede her ⁊ elleswhere riȝt nouȝt. 596
 And þe while hi wente to bygge oyle ⁊ hare pouȝt bet to tende,
 þe spouse com and nom yn ⁊ wiþ him þe maydenes hende
 þat wise and redi were ⁊ ak þat ȝat was ymad [fast] anon.
 þe ffoles come and bede vndo ⁊ and byleuede wiþoute echon, 600
 As shal ech man pulke tyme ⁊ bote hit were aserued by-flore
 Ne beo he neuere so repentaunt ⁊ þat he ne worþ ffor-lore;
 ffor þat ȝat worþ þanne ymad ffast ⁊ and neuere-more vndo.
 Ak whanne hi were god and clene ⁊ wiþoute byleuede so 604
 ffor hi dude hare clannesse al a-brod ⁊ ⁊ tolde men al þat sop,
 Whar shulleþ hi bileue ⁊ þat no goednesse ne dop?
 þis lechours and þis hores ⁊ þat vnclene beoþ so,—
 Hi ne shulleþ nouȝt come so ney ⁊ ich wene to bydde vndo. 608
 þerffore oure lord vs byddeþ do wel ⁊ ⁊ euere ȝarken vs
 And þer-to seȝþ an tale ⁊ þat bygunneþ þus:

The cry at mid-
 night shall be
 dreadful; every
 soul in heaven
 and hell shall
 hear.

The foolish
 trusted to their
 clean life. But
 all they did was
 for men's sight;
 they had their
 reward here and
 when the spouse
 came they were
 left outside.

If the good and
 clean remain
 without, lechers
 and whores shall
 not come near
 enough to bid
 'Undo'.

586 her is] her. 587 þat] þe. dredffol] so dreadful. nys soule] soule
 nis. 588 anon] echon. 589 hare lampes diȝte] ȝarkedede here lampen.
 and hadde ynome] þat was nome. 590 What god dede hi hadde ido
 whar-þurþ hi hopede mede. 591 som of hare oyle] of her oeli sum.
 593 of] for. 594 Hadde liȝt] Were alȝt. oute] wiþoute. Harl. 2277
 lacks vv. 595-1502. Variants in these lines are supplied from MS. Tanner
 17. 595 al in] it in þe. 596 riȝt] om. 597 þe] þer. 598
 nom] tok. þe maydenes hende] atte ende. 599 þe wise þat al redi
 were þe ȝate was schet anon. 600 and byleuede] but þei beleuede.
 601 As] So. were aserued] be deserued. 602 neuere] om. repen-
 taunt] repentaunt þanne. worþ] schal be. 603 worþ] schal. ymad
 ffast] be faste schet. 604 Ak whanne] And þanne. byleuede] bileue
 schul. 605 dude] schewid. al þat] þe. 606 ne doþ] dothe. 607
 þis hores] þe fol wommen. 608 ne shulleþ] schul. ich wene to] þat
 þei schul. 609 vs byddeþ] biddiþ vs. 610 þer-to seȝþ] seiþ vs þerto.

A Man wente while a pilgrinage ⁊ clupede his hynen er
 And bytok ham his goed ffor to loke ⁊ on of ham per
 ffyue besauntz he 3af ⁊ and to anoþer two, 613
 And anoþer he 3af on ⁊ ech þeron to wirche ⁊ make mo,
 Ech of ham as hi worpi were ⁊ and his wey gan fforþ gon.
 And he pat affeng þe ffyue besauntz ⁊ fforþ him wente anon 616
 And wrouzte þeron ⁊ and by3at oþer ffyue þerto;
 And he pat tweye vnderffeng ⁊ wan also oþer two;
 And he pat on vnderffeng ⁊ wente and vnderstod,
 And bydalf his besaunt vnder eorþe ⁊ so hudde his lordes
 goed. 620
 Þis man þat wente a pilgrinage ⁊ Ihesu crist hit was ⁊ is,
 Þat ar he wente to heuene ⁊ clupede his Apostles ywis,
 And tok ham his goed to loke ⁊ to some besauntz ffyue.
 Þat were þe ffyue wyttes ⁊ þat he vs 3af in þis lyue.
 Ak longe tyme þer-after ⁊ þe lord him-sulf com
 Of þulke hynen ⁊ acountes ⁊ þer-of wip ham nom.
 Þo com he fforþ þat hadde ⁊ ffyue besauntz aþonge ywis,
 And brouzte fforþ oþer ffyue ⁊ to þe lord ⁊ sede þis,
 'ffyf besauntz lord ⁊ her þou me by-toke
 And ich haue oþer ffyue ⁊ by3ute, lo her loke.'
 Þo sede his lord to him ⁊ 'þou truwe hyne ⁊ goed,
 Eorþlich goed þou mote haue ⁊ ffor þou art of truwe mod. 632
 Vp lutel þing ⁊ þerffore ich wole ⁊ vp gret þing þe do
 Yn-to þi lordes ioye ⁊ þou wende and come þer-to.'
 Þo wente he fforþ þat afeng ⁊ tweye besauntz al-so,
 And sede, 'lord þou toke me ⁊ tweye besauntz, lo. 636

A man going a
 pilgrimage
 gave to one of
 his servants 5
 besants, to an-
 other 2, to an-
 other 1, and
 bade them work
 therewith and
 make more.

The man was
 Christ, who gave
 his goods to the
 apostles.

624 The 5 besants
 were the five
 wits.

He who re-
 ceived 5 besants
 brought forth 5
 others.

His lord said,
 [p. 197]

'Because thou
 art true in little
 things I give
 thee great
 things; come to
 the joy of thy
 lord.'

611 wente while] wente. hynen] seruauntis. 612 ffor to loke] to
 kepe. 613 to anoþer] anoþer. 614 And anoþer he 3af on and eche
 of hem also. 615 He 3af as he worpi was ⁊ his wei3e he gan &c.
 616 affeng þe] tok. fforþ him wente] wente forþ. 617 þeron] þerwip.
 þerto] also. 618 vnderffeng] vndir3at. wan also] he be3at. 619
 And he] But he. 620 eorþe] þe erþe. so hudde] hid. 621 was
 ⁊ is] is. 622 þat on holi þorisðai wip oure flesch to heuen wente iwis.
 623 ham] his seruauntis. to some] ⁊ summe toke. 624 vs 3af in þis]
 3af to hem be here. 625 Ak longe tyme þer-after] After long time siþe.
 626 þulke hynen ⁊] his seruauntis. nom] he nom. 628 fforþ]
 om. þis] on þis manere þis. 629 her þou] þou. 630 And ich] I.
 by3ute lo her] i-wonne seth here and. 631 hyne] seruaunt. 632
 art] were. 633 vp gret þing þe] þe up gret þing. 634 þi] þe.
 635 afeng] vndirfong. 636 sede] he seide

So also he said
to him who re-
ceived 2 besants.

Oper tweye perto ich haue byzute ' po oure lord him sede
pis,

' Eorplich goed pou mote haue : goed hyne ⁊ truwe ywis,
ffor pou were vp lutel ping truwe : vp ping pat gret is
Ich wole pe sette : wend now yn : in-to pi lordes blis.' 640

Then came he
who had 1 be-
sant and said,
' I know thou
art a hard man,
and I was a-
dread and buried
thy besant.
Here it is.'

Po com he fforþ pat affeng : on besaunt and sede,
' Lord ich wot wel pat pou art : hard man in pi dede,
And rypest per pou ne sywe nouzt : ⁊ per pou ne lete sprede,
Gaderest to-gadere to pe : per-ffore ich was in drede, 644

And zeode fforþ and in pe eorpe : hudde ffaste ywis
pi besaunt, and now pou hast : al pat pin is.'

His lord an-
swered, ' Then
thou shouldst
have put it to
the money-
changers, and
I could have had
my own with
usury.'

His lord answerede and sede : ' pou luper seruaunt ⁊ slowe,
pou wistest wel pat ich rype : per ich nouzt ne sowe, 648

And pat ich ne spradde nouzt abrod : ich gadery and mowe,

Panne byhouede pe : zeolde : my katel pat is myn owe,

And habbe ytake pe muneters : suppe pat ich come

And ping pat myn is : myd vsure of ham ynome. 652

Take the besant
from him and
cast him into
darkness.'

Nymep of him pat besaunt : and takeþ him pat hap tene,

ffor me wole ech man pat hap goed : ziue ⁊ on him spene ;

So pat he shal habbe to muche : ak he pat nouzt nap

zut hit worþ of him bynome : pat lutel pat he hap. 656

And pis luper hyne, quap oure lord : ' pulteþ in derkhede ;

per-as worþ gryntyng of teþ : and wop ⁊ wrechede.'

That is the dark-
ness of hell, to
which isbrought
the man who
makes no good
use of the wit
God lends him.

Pat is pe derkhede of helle : pat Man worþ ynne ybrouzt,

pat of whit pat god him lenep : ne byzuteþ riȝt nouzt. 660

Ne wisseþ oper men ne techep : ne as in pur byzete

Noping bringep to him : pat ȝaf him er so grete.

Ak he pat hap pe ffyue besauntz : in goed byzete ydrue,

pat beoþ pe ffyue whittes : pat god vs hap yziue, 664

He who has 5
besants

637 tweye perto] too. byzute þo] wonne. 638 hyne] seruaunt. 640

wend now] and wende. 641 affeng] vndirfong. 643 sywe nouzt]

sewe. ne lete] lete not. 644 per-ffore] ⁊ perfore. 646 pe besaunt

pat pou me toke ⁊ now &c. 648 ne] dide. 649 ne spradde] spradde.

ich gadery &c.] i gadre togidre ⁊ i mowe. 650 pe zeolde] me. 651

pat I haue betake to moneters pat I whan I come. 652 ping] of ping.

653 him] of him 654 me wole] we wille. 655 to muche] inough.

ak] and. 656 worþ] schal. bynome] be take. pat lutel pat] what

litol so. 657 hyne] seruaunt. 658 per-as worþ] pere pat schal be.

659 worþ ynne] schal inne be. 660 of] wiþ. byzuteþ] beȝet him. 661

men] om. 663 Ak] But. 664 vs] him.

Hap yspend so aboute ⁊ and ypreched fer ⁊ ner,
 And byzute mony a soule ⁊ to god þat ȝaf him power,
 He is goode hyne ⁊ truwe ⁊ come he shal and wende
 Into his lordes ioie ⁊ þat lasteþ wipouten ende. 668
 And þat oure lord seiþ so ⁊ þat me wole ȝine fflawe
 Ham þat habbeþ muche goode ⁊ ȝut lasteþ pulke lawe,
 And of him þat hap lutel goode ⁊ me wole raþer byreue,
 And wrenche of him her ⁊ þer ⁊ þat him ne shal noþing byleue.
 And al þis a domesday ⁊ worþ a-counted ffol wel, 673
 And þerof oure lord seiþ þus in his holy gospel.

is he who
 preaches and
 wins many a
 soul.

The law still
 holds that men
 give to those
 who have much
 and rob those
 who have little.

‘**O** Ne mannes sone whanne he comeþ ⁊ eft a-doun her
 And alle his aungeles wip him ⁊ in his grete
 power 676
 Vp þe sege of his power ⁊ sytte he wole þanne
 And byffore him fforþ bringe ⁊ ech maner ffolk of manne.
 And he wole þanne party a-two ⁊ þe goode ffro þe vuele
 As a shephurde þe clene shep ⁊ ffram þe syke wole dele; 680
 And þanne he wole his clene shep ⁊ in his riȝt side do,
 And þe geet in his lyft side ⁊ and þanne þe kyng wole segge so
 To ham in his riȝt side ⁊ “comeþ her fforþ euerichon,
 My ffladeres blessedde children ⁊ and vnderffongeþ anon 684
 Þe kyngdom of heuene ⁊ þat to ȝow yȝarked is
 ffram þe wordles bygunnyng ⁊ ffor of-hongred ich was ywis,
 And ȝe me ȝeue mete ⁊ apurst ich was al-so,
 And ȝe me ȝeue drinke ⁊ and ynles ich was þerto, 688
 And ȝe me nome yn to ȝow ⁊ and also ich was naked,
 And ȝe me heledde wip cloþes ⁊ and syk ich was ymaked
 And ȝe come and confortede me ⁊ in prisoun ich was al-so
 And ȝe come to gladye me ⁊ þo ich was þer-ynne ydo.” 692

When ‘one
 man’s Son’
 comes with his
 angels he shall
 summon each
 manner of folk
 and shall put

[p. 198]

the clean sheep
 on the right but
 the goats on the
 left.

To those on his
 right the king
 will say, ‘Re-
 ceive the king-
 dom of heaven,
 for I was hungry
 and ye gave me
 meat,’ &c.

665 Hap] And hap. so] it so. 666 byzute] wonne. 667 hyne]
 seruaut. come he shal] and come shal. 669 so] also. 670 ȝut]
 and ȝit. 671 of him] him. raþer] sonnere. 672 ne shal noþing]
 schal not. 673 And al þis] Al þis schal. worþ a-counted ffol] acountid
 be wol. 674 oure lord seiþ þus in his holy] seiþ oure lord þus in þe.
 675 One mannes] Mannes. 676 alle his] his. 677 power]
 myȝt. 678 maner ffolk] maner. 680 þe clene] his clene. þe syke
 wole dele] his got shulde wile. 681 in] on. 682 in] on. and
 þanne] and. so] also. 683 in] on. her fforþ] forth. 685 þe] To
 þe. yȝarked] makid. 687 me ȝeue] ȝeue me. apurst] and apurst.
 688 me ȝeue] ȝeue me. 689 nome] toke. 691 ich was al-so] also.
 692 to gladye] and gladiid. þer-ynne] in pine.

They shall answer, 'When did we feed thee, give thee drink, shelter or clothe thee or visit thee, sick or in prison?'

Panne answerie shulleþ þe goede men ⁊ segge, "lord pin ore,

Lord whanne sey we þe ⁊ affyngred so sore
And ffedde þe ⁊ and apurst ⁊ and ȝeue þe drynke þerto ?

Whanne seye we þe ynles ⁊ and ynnede þe also ? 696

Oþer naked and heledde þe ⁊ oþer whanne in pine neode
Seye we þe in prisoun ⁊ oþer syk and to þe ȝeode ? "

The king : 'As oft as ye did it to the least of my brethren ye did it to me.'

Panne wole þe kyng ⁊ answerye to ham þis.

"To soþe ich segge ⁊ þat as ofte ⁊ as ȝe dude ywis 700

To on of þeose myne breþeren ⁊ þe leste þat þer is,
As ofte ȝe dude hit to me ⁊ and þat shal come ȝow to blis."

Her ȝe mowe yseo ⁊ who-so him vnderstode,

Here ye may see how good it is to give to the poor.

How goed hit is to ȝiue ⁊ pore men of ȝoure goede. 704

ffor al þat me ȝiueþ ham ⁊ as þe gospel vs doþ lere,

Al he ȝiueþ oure lord ⁊ him-sulf as hit were.

Then will he say to those on his left, 'Go, accursed ghosts, to the fire without end. When I was hungry ye gave me no meat,' &c.

Panne wole oure lord segge ⁊ to þe lufere men anon,

þat in his lyft side beoþ ⁊ 'gop now fforþ echon 708

Acorsede gostes to þe ffor ⁊ þat wiþouten ende is,

þat is yordeyned to þe deuel ⁊ and to alle þat beoþ his.

þo ich was a-ffyngred ⁊ ȝe ne ȝeue me mete non ;

Apurst ich was and ȝe ne ȝeue ⁊ me drynke nouȝt on ; 712

Ynles ich was ⁊ ȝe nolde ⁊ to non yn me lede ;

Naked ich was ⁊ ȝe nolde ⁊ hely me wiþ no wede ;

Syk ich was and in prisoun ⁊ ak ȝe ne come to me nouȝt.'

They shall answer, 'Lord, when did we this?' &c.

Panne shulleþ hi answerye ⁊ and segge in hare þouȝt, 716

'Lord whanne seye we þe ⁊ affyngred and meteles,

Oþer apurst oþer syk ⁊ oþer gyst and ynles

Oþer naked oþer in prisoun ⁊ and dude þe seruise non ?'

Then will the lord say :

Panne wole þe lord segge ⁊ 'ich telle ȝow echon 720

693 answerie shulleþ] answerid. segge] seiden. 694 affyngred so]

anhungrid. 699 kyng] hiȝe king. to ham] him. 700 To] ffor.

as ofte] hast ofte. 701 þer] here. 702 þat] hit. 703 Her

ȝe mowe] And ȝe moun here. 704 ȝiue pore men] pore men ȝeue.

705 ham] here. 706 Al he ȝiueþ oure] Al men ȝeuen oure swete.

707 lord segge] swete lord. men] seiȝe. 708 in] on. now fforþ

echon] forth euerychon. 710 is yordeyned] ordeyned is. alle þat beoþ

his] his aungilles iwis. 711 þo] ffor þo. a-ffyngred] anhungrid. ȝe ne

ȝeue me mete] mete ȝe ȝeue me. 712 ne ȝeue me drynke] ȝeue me no

drink of ȝow. 715 ak ȝe ne come] ȝe comen. 717 affyngred]

an-hungrid. 718 gyst and] ȝedist. 719 dude] we dide. 720

segge] answerie. telle ȝow] sei ȝow for sothe.

As ofte as 3e dude hit nouzt : to my leste broþer
 þat bad hit in my name : 3e ne dude hit to me noþer.
 To pyne þat is endeles : hi shulleþ þanne wende,
 And þe goede men anon : to þe lif wiþouten ende.
 Her me may somdel yseo : who-so toke gome
 Whuche acountes we shulleþ 3iue : at þe day of dome ;
 ffor among alle þe dedes þat we doþ : as oure lord sede
 Most he wole vnderstonde þer : þe goede almesfol dede.
 þat beoþ þeos þat ich wole telle : to 3iue þe pore ywis,
 Affyngred mete and drynke al-so : him þat apurst is,
 To cloþie þe nakede : and þe ynles in house do,
 To conforty men in syknesse : and in prisoun al-so.
 þe seueþe is to burye : men þat dede beoþ,
 Ak þerof ne seyþ hit nouzt þer : as 3e alle yseoþ :
 And þat is ffor pulke dede : wel gret goode ne doþ nouzt
 þe Man þat is hennes ywend : ffor oper he haþ in þouzt,
 ffor he rouzte lute þei þat body : me lete lygge al-so
 Oper caste hit in a ffoul dyche : so þat þe soule in wele were ydo.
 And napeles almesfol dede hit is : to burye men þat beoþ dede,
 As who-so seiþ oure euene-cristene : to brynge out of ffylp-
 hede.
 And napeles þus muche ich seo : 3if hit ffor shame nere
 Of men þat a-lyue beoþ : Mony men vnburied were,
 ffor oure fflesch so ffoul is : and of-shamed we wolde beo
 þanne me sholde in oure shennesse : men stynke ⁊ rotte yseo.
 þus tolde oure lord to his disciples : ar he þe deþ nome
 Toknyng ⁊ which hit wolde beo : at þe day of dome.
 And þo Ihesus hadde ydo : and ysed al ywis
 þeos wordes and opere mo : þo he sede to his disciples þis :

'Ye did it not
to my least
brother, so ye
did it not to
me.'

724

Here may we
see what ac-
[p. 199]

728

counts we shall
give at dooms-
day.
The seven deeds
of mercy.

732

The seventh is
to bury the dead,
which is a good
deed although
the dead man
cares little for
his body.

736

740

But we do it for
shame that men
may not see
corpses rotting.

745

748

722 hit] it 3ou. 3e] ne 3ede. 723 hi shulleþ þanne] þese schul þanne
 alle. 726 at þe day of dome] whan oure lord vs schal deme. 727
 sede] himselue sede. 728 þer þe goede almesfol] þat merciful. 730
 Affyngred] þe hungrid. him] to him. 731 and þe ynles] þe inles.
 do] to do. 733 dede] here deede. 734 Ak] And. ne seyþ] seith.
 þer] er. 735 ne doþ] doþ. 736 þe] To a. 737 ffor he rouzte
 litil þouh men lei3e þe bodi also þere. 738 þe soule in wele were ydo]
 þat soule wel were. 739, 740 omitted. 741 And] But. shame]
 summe. 742 men] manye. 743 is and] it is þat. 744 þat
 men schulde oure wrecchidnes so stynke &c. 746 which] hov. wolde]
 schulde. 747 ydo] al do. ysed al] al seid. 748 þes wordis he
 seide to his disciples anon after þis.

On Tuesday Jesus said, 'It is two days until Easter,' for the Jews begin their Easter on Shere-Thursday at evensong.

After two dayes 3e wyteþ wel.' þat Ester shal come,
And one Mannes sone.' þer shal beo ytake and ynome
To beo ydo on þe rode.' þeos wordes he sede 751
þe tywersday by-flore Ester.' as me doþ in bok rede,

ffor þe gywes helde hare ester.' at þe heye ffolle of þe Mone
As a goede ffryday was þo.' as hare riȝt was to done,
And þanne at euesong tyme.' þe day by-flore ywis
Hi by-gonne hare ffeſte.' as hare lawe ȝut is. 756
Hare Ester as on shereþorsday.' at euesong by-gan so
þat was ffram þe tywersday.' two dayes ⁊ namo.

On Wednesday the priests and elders took counsel with Caiaphas about seizing Jesus.

þan Morwe as þan wednesday.' as hi hare red nome,
þe princes of þe preostes.' and þe eoldest of ham come 760
Vp al þe folk in on hous.' vp þe prince þat þo was

And Mayster of þe preostes.' þat yhote was Cayphas.
Hare counsayl hi nome þer.' ffor to holde ffeſte
Ihesus wiþ tricherye.' and to slee him atte laste. 764

'We'll not take him on the holy day,' they said, 'lest there be tumult among the folk.'

Hi sede, 'we nollep him nyme.' on þe holy day nouȝt,
Lest þer were eny neoyse.' among þe ffolk ybrouȝt.'
þe holy day was hare Ester day.' a goede ffryday ywis,
And þe Saterdag a morwe.' þat hare sabbat is. 768

þo nolde hi oure lord nyme.' ffor þe peoples speche
Ak al by niȝte by-flore; ham.' nas no wrench to teche.

Judas went to them and said, 'What will you

On of þe twelf aposteles.' wente fforþ anon,
Icluped he was Iudas Scaryot.' ffram his ffelawes echon 772

[p. 200]

give me to deliver Jesus to you?'
They promised him 30 pieces of silver. The devil egged him to do it.

To þe princes of þe gywes.' and sede to ham þis :
'What wolde 3e ȝiue me.' ⁊ ich wole ȝow take him þat Ihesus is ?'
Þritty pans of seluer.' hi by-hete him and brouȝte.
Iudas after þulke tyme.' awaytede in al his þouȝte 776
þe beste tyme him to nyme.' þat þe dede were ydo.
þe deucl him wente er wiþynne.' and eggede him þerto.

750 one] om. þer] om. 752 doþ in bok] in þe bok do. 753
helde] hadden. 754 hare] om. to] for to. 755 at] at þe. þe]
þat. 757 as on] a. 758 two dayes ⁊ namo] whan too daies were
igo. 759 þan] A. as þan] on þe. 760 of ham] om. 761 Vp al]
Of alle. vp þe prince] of þe pristin. 762 Maister was of pristin þat
men clepid cayfas. 763 nome þer] toke. 764 to] om. 765
nollep him nyme] wiȝn him take. 766 Lest] ȝif. 767 hare] om.
769 And perfore wolde þei oure lord take for mannes speche. 770 Ak]
But. by-flore] for. 771 On of] As. aposteles] disciplis. fforþ] forþ
þo. 772 Icluped he was Iudas] þei clepid. 773 and] þat. 774
ȝow take &c.] betake ȝou ihesu iwis. 776 in al] in. 777 nyme] take.
778 him wente er] was him euere.

Goed chep þe shrewe him grauntede.' þat him so solde;
He ne axede nouzt a fferþing more.' þan þe gywes him tolde.
He ne lowede him nouzt to deore.' as þis chapmen wolleþ
echon

Judas gave the
Jews a good
bargain at their
own figure, not
like these chap-
men who ask
high prices.

781

þing þat is deoreworþ.' ak he axede ham anon
'What wolleþ 3e ffor him 3iue.' as who seiþ 'beode 3e
And as goed chep ich wolle him 3iue.' as 3e wolleþ bydde me.'

Now luper þrift vp-on his heued.' Amen seggeþ alle,
ffor luper chapman he was.' and al-so him is byffalle.

785 Bad luck to him!
Amen, say all.
He was an evil
chapman.

Ak þe teoþing he nolde nouzt.' þat hit were ffor-lore
Of þe Magdaleynes oynement3.' as hit seiþ by-ffore.

788

Anon ffor þreo hondred pans.' he preysede hit ywis,
ffor þe teoþing of þreo hondred pans.' pritty pans is,
And he stal oure lordes teoþinge.' perffore he nolde hit do
No lasse þan pritty pans.' to keuere his peofte so.

792

And ffor Ihesus ysold was.' þe wednesday,
Wel goed hit is to leue flesch.' and ffaste who-so may.

Every one who
can should fast
on Wednesday,
the day Jesus
was sold.

Oure lord wuste his dep wel ney.' perffore he wolde make
Asemblyng of his disciples.' ar he were ffram ham ytake,

796

To teche ham how to lede hare lif.' as þis goede men Mony on
Wolleþ wissi hare children.' whanne hi sholde ffram ham gon.

To oure lord as a shereþorsday.' þe disciples sede,

'Whar woltou þat we greypi þe.' þin Ester mete and brede?'

'Gop', quap oure lord þo.' to seint Peter ⁊ seint Ion,

801

'To þe cite and þer wole.' a man come anon

A3en 3ow wiþ a galoun of water.' syweþ him boþe two,

And whar-so he gop yn.' gop 3e yn þer al so,

804

And seggeþ him þeos wordes.' "oure Mayster seiþ þis,

My tyme is ney ycome.' and ich wole ywis

Wiþ þe make myn Ester.' and myne disciples echon".'

As oure lord ham ysed.' hadde.' þe disciples dude anon,

808

On Shere-Thurs-
day the disciples
asked Jesus
where to pre-
pare the Easter
meal. He told
Peter and John
to follow a man
with a jar of
water to the ap-
pointed place.

779 him grauntede] myzte forþe. him] so good chep him. 780

nouzt] om. 781 ne lowede] louede. to deore] dere. 782 deore-

worþ] worþi. ak he axede] but seide to. 785 Now] om. 786 ffor]

ffor a. al-so him] so he. 787 Ak] But. 790 ffor] And. 791

And] ffor. nolde] wolde. 792 to] for to. so] þo. 793 ysold was]

was sold on. 794 Wel goed] Good. 795 wel] om. 796

Assemblyng] An ensemble. 797 To teche] And teche. 799 as a] a.

800 greypi þe] ordeyne. and] of. 801 ⁊] and to. 802 wole &c.]

wile anon a man a3ens 3ou gon. 804 þer] om. 808 ysed hadde]

hadde seid.

At evensong
time Jesus sat
down to meat
with the twelve.

'I tell you tru-
ly,' he said, 'He
who reaches
with me his
hand in the
platter shall be-
tray me.'

[p. 201]

All the disciples
were ashamed
to know that
one of them
should do this
wicked deed.

Peter whispered
to John to ask
who it was.
Jesus told him
privately, for if
Peter had known
he would have
bitten Judas
with his teeth.

And made þe stede redy ⁊ as oure lord ham sende.

þo euesong tyme was ⁊ oure lord þider wende,

And wiþ his twelf disciples ⁊ to þe mete ywis

He sat adoun ⁊ as hi ete ⁊ he sede to ham þis :

812

'Ich segge þow to soþe þis ⁊ þat on of þow echon

Shal ȝut bytraye me ⁊ þe disciples þo anon

Sori were ffor þat word ⁊ dreori in hare þouȝt

And sede ech after oþer ⁊ 'lord am hit ich ouȝt ?'

816

þo answerede Ihesus ⁊ and sede, 'pulke here

þat arechep wiþ me ⁊ his hond in þe plater,

He me wole sulle ⁊ take ⁊ ffor as ȝe shulleþ ywite,

One mannes sone gop ⁊ as hit is of him ywrite.

820

Wo worþe pulke man ⁊ þat shal him so bytraye

Him were betere to beo vnþore ⁊ ȝut to þis daye.'

'Mayster', quap Iudas þo ⁊ 'y nam hit nouȝt ywis.'

þo sede oure lord to him ⁊ 'þou seyst þi-sulf þis.'

824

Ashamed was ech disciple ⁊ of þat oure lord sede,

As wolleþ truwe men ⁊ whanne me dop among ham a luper
dede,

ffor þanne is of ham ech adrad ⁊ and ashamed also,

Lest men wene aboute ⁊ þat hi hadde hit ydo.

828

Seint Ion þe Ewangelist ⁊ to oure lordes breost lay.

Peter rounede to him ⁊ þo he þat ysay,

And bad him axe who hit were ⁊ seint Ion axede anon

Priueliche who hit were ⁊ of ham euerichon.

832

Oure lord wette a Mossel of bred ⁊ ⁊ sede þat he hit was

þo by-tok he þat Mossel ⁊ to scaryot Iudas.

ȝut nuste nouȝt þe disciples ⁊ þat made so gret mone

Whuch of ham him hadde ysold ⁊ bote seint Ion one ;

836

ffor ȝif Peter hit hadde ywyst ⁊ as hit is ywrite,

He him hadde anon myd his tep ⁊ to-drawe ⁊ to-bite.

809 redy] al redi. 810 was] was ido. 312 ⁊ as] as. he sede]

and seide. 813 to soþe þis] for sothe. 815 þat] þis. 816 am hit

ich] I am it. 818 þat arechþ hidir his hand with me in my plater.

819 me wole] wil me. ffor as] as. 820 One mannes] Mannes. 821

shal him] him schal. 822 to beo] om. 824 þou seyst þi-sulf]

þi selue þou seist. 828 Lest] þat. hi hadde hit] he it haue. 829

breost] brest-bon. 830 þat] þis. 831 anon] þo anon. 833 of

bred] þo. 834 þat he betok þat morsel and betok it iudas. 837

ywrite] of him iwrite. 838 him hadde] hadde him. his tep] tep.

to-bite] al to-bite.

As pis disciples ete ' at þe Cene euerichon,
 Ihesus tok bred in his hond ' and blessedede hit anon, 840 Jesus took bread
 And brak and tok his disciples ' and sede ham suppe and wine and
 pis : blessed them
 ' Nymep and etep her-of ' ffor myn owe flesch hit is, and said, ' Eat
 þat ffor 3ow worþ ysold ' and suppe to depe ydo. my flesh and
 A chalys he nom wip wyn ' and blessedede hit al-so. 844 drink my blood.'
 ' þis is of þe nywe lawe ' myn owe blod, ' he sede,
 ' þat ffor mony man worþ yshad ' in fforziuenesse of mysdede.
 Ich segge 3ow to soþe ' y nelle namore of þis vyne
 Drinke ar eft pulke day ' þat ich atte ffyne 848
 Drynke wip 3ow al nywe ' in my ffader kyngdom.'
 þo oure lord sede þis ' in þis manere he hit nom
 þat he nolde in þis wordle ' such ffeste make namore
 In þe manere of þe olde lawe ' ar he were in his ffader ore. 852
 In heuene he made a nywe ffeste ' þat lastep wipoute
 ende
 Wip goode men þat þider shulleþ ' þorw cristendom wende.
 Wip strengþe of þis wordes ek ' þat god seip in his bok
 þat he blessedede þe bred ' and to his disciples tok 856
 In þe obley and in þe wyn ' his owe flesch and blode
 At þe Masse is as purliche ' as he hit shadde on þe rode.
 Alle his disciples bote Iudas ' he tok his flesch so,
 Ak to him he tok a mossel ' þat was yn his disch ydo. 860
 Men þat nolleþ beo yshriue ' and hare suðnes fforsake,
 As hit were oure lordes flesch ' holy bred hi wollep take,
 An Ester day hi beoþ yliche ' Iudas þat so com
 Wip opere to godes bord ' and his flesch nouzt nom ; 864
 Ak wip þe Mossel þat he tok ' þe denel in him wende.
 So mowe hi drede þat so doþ ' bote hi hare lif amende.

By the power of
 these words the
 oblation and the
 wine at the
 Mass become
 his own flesh
 and blood.

Unshriven men
 who take the
 Host at Easter
 are as bad as
 Judas.

839 at þe] as þis. 842 Nymep] Takip. 843 worþ] schal be. suppe]
 om. 844 nom wip] tok of. 846 worþ] schal be. 847 to] for. 850
 þo] þer. þis manere] þat manere. 851 namore] more. 852 In þe]
 In. in his ffader ore] wip his fadir wore. 855 þis] þe. his] þe.
 856 þat] Whan. þe bred] bred. and to] and. tok] it be-tok. 857
 blode] his blod. 858 as purliche] purh. 859 bote] z. so] also.
 860 Ak to him] But him. þat was yn] in. 861 yshriue] clene
 schryue. 862 As] Not as. holy] but only. hi wollep] schul. 863
 An] At. 864 nouzt] forþ. 865 Ak] And. tok] in tok.

[p. 202]

Jesus knew that
his time was
come but he
loved his own.

B Yffore þe ffeſte of Eſter day : Iheſus wuſte ȝare
þat his tyme was ney ycome : þat he ſholde hennes
ffare

868

Out of þis wordle to his ffader : ⁊ he was ſo pere
þat he louede his owe men : þat in þe world were.

He louede ham wel atten ende : and þo þe Cene was ydo,

And þe deuēl þer-by-ffore : was ywent al-ſo

872

When Judas had
gone forth to
sell our lord,

In-to Iudas heorte ſcaryot : oure lord to ſulle amys,

Wel wuſte oure lord ek : þo þat his ffader ywis

Him hadde ȝȝiue ⁊ ytake : alle þing an honde

And þat he ſholde to him wende : ⁊ of him come his ſonde. 876

Jesus arose and
girt a linen
cloth about him
and washed the
disciples' feet.

He aros vp ffro þe Cene : and his cloþes gan of do.

A lynene cloþ he nom : and byclupte him þerwip al-ſo.

Per-after in a bacyn : water he gan to caſte

And his diſciples ffeet : gan to waſſhe ffeate,

880

And wypeðe wip þat lynene cloþ : þat aboute him was
ywis.

Peter protested,
but Jesus said,
'If I wash thee
not, thou hast
no part with me
in heaven.'

Aboute he ȝeode ⁊ com to Seint Peter : ⁊ he ſede þis :

'Lord þou waſſeſt me ⁊ my ffeet' : þo ſede þe kyng of blis,

'þe þing þat ich do now : þou noſt what hit is.

884

Ak þou ſhalt ywite afterward : Seint Peter ſede þo,

'þou ne ſhalt nouȝt my ffeet waſſhe : by þi lif neuere-mo.'

þo answerede Iheſus þus : 'ȝif ich ne waſſhe nouȝt þe

Ne þi ffeet, þe ne tyd : no part in heuene hadde wip me.'

888

Then said Peter,
'Wash my
hands and my
head also.'

'Lord,' quap Peter þo : 'þat hit ne beo by-leued,

Ne waſch nouȝt onliche my ffeet : bote boþe hond ⁊ heued.'

þo ſede Iheſus to him : 'þe man þat clene is

No neode naþ to waſſche : bote his ffeet ywis,

892

And he is clene ⁊ ȝe beoþ clene : ak nouȝt echon.'

ffor iheſu wuſte wel : which was pulke on

867 of Ester day] dai of esterne.

868 hennes] om.

869 ⁊ he]

pat. 870 þat he] ffor he.

871 ham wel] wel hem.

872 þer-by-

ffore was] þat was before.

874 þo þat] þat.

878 He tok a lynen

cloþ &c. 879 þeraftir watir in his veſſellis he &c.

881 wypeðe] to

wipe.

882 Til he cam to ſeint petir and he ſeide to him þis.

883

me ⁊ my ffeet] my feet ⁊ me.

885 Ak] But. Seint] om.

886 by]

in.

888 habbe] om.

889 þat hit ne] no-þing.

890 Raþere

waſche handis ⁊ feet and alſo myn heued.

891 to him] om. is]

waſchen is.

892 to waſſche bote] but to waſche alone.

893

beoþ] ben ek. ak] and.

894 iheſu] ſwete iheſu.

þat him sholde bytraye ⁊ þerfore he sede þis :
 ' 3e beoþ clene ynow ⁊ ak nouzt alle ywis.'
 þo he hadde hare flet ywassche ⁊ ynome aȝen his wede,
 As he was yset adoun ⁊ to his disciples he sede,
 ' Wite 3e ouzt among ȝow ⁊ what ich ȝow habbe ydo ?
 3e clupeþ me ⁊ ȝoure Mayster and lord also,
 And 3e seggeþ wel þerof ⁊ ffor riȝt so ich am.
 ȝif ich wassche ȝoure flet ⁊ þat lord ⁊ Mayster am
 And 3e shulleþ ech operes flet ⁊ among ȝou wassche al-so,
 ffor ich ȝiue ȝou ensauple ⁊ þat as ich habbe ydo
 þat 3e do in þulke manere ⁊ ffor ich segge to soþe þis
 þat þe hine nys nouzt ⁊ aboue þe lord ywis.'
 Whanne he wosch his hynen flet ⁊ þat aȝen him were so lute
 þat we nome ensauple of him ⁊ to beo Meok aȝen prute.
 Iudas wente sone out ⁊ after þe cene þer
 To þe gywes to ffolfulle ⁊ þat he byhet ham er.
 ' þulke,' he sede, ' þat ich cusse ⁊ holdeþ him ffaste, ich rede,
 Whanne 3e him nymep ⁊ ffor he hit is ⁊ wisliche 3e him lede.'
 ffor he so priueliche ȝeode er of þe temple ⁊ þe shrewe hadde
 drede

But there was
 one of them who
 wasn't clean.

Jesus said, ' Ye
 call me Master
 and so I am, but
 I wash your feet
 to give you an
 example that ye
 do likewise.'

Judas went to
 the Jews and
 said, ' Hold fast
 the one whom I
 kiss, but be care-
 ful.'

[p. 203]

Jesus and the
 disciples went
 to Mount Olivet
 ' To-night ye
 will flee,' he
 told them.

Peter said, ' I
 shall never for-
 sake thee.'

þat he wolde þe gywes ouercome ⁊ and þer-by he hit sede.
TO þe Mount of Olynet ⁊ wiþ his disciples echon
 By-twene day and niȝt ⁊ oure lord wente anon.
 ' Now ⁊ now ich shal,' he sede ⁊ ' ffor ȝow beo al one,
 ffor 3e wollep ffram me ffleo ⁊ in þis niȝt echone ;
 ffor whanne þe shephurde is ysmyte ⁊ þe shep wollep to-sprede.'
 ' Ich ne shal neuere, lord, þe fforsake ' ⁊ Seint Peter sede,
 ' þei alle opere fforsake þe, lord ⁊ ȝut nelle ich nouzt.'
 ' Peter,' quap oure lord þo ⁊ ' in such drede þou worst ybrouzt

896 beoþ] ben among ȝou. ak] but. 897 ynome] take. 899
 Wite 3e] Wite. 900 ȝoure] om. 901 wel] om. riȝt so] also.
 902 ich] I þanne. þat lord] lord. am] an. 903 And] Riȝt so for.
 904 ensauple] an ensample. þat as] as. 905 þat] And þat. to
 soþe] for soþe. 906 hine] seruaunt. aboue] hiȝere þan. ywis] is.
 906a Whan þe lord waschiþ her feet þat his seruauntis were. 906 b
 He ȝaf hem fair ensample vs alle to lere. 908 follows 906 b. 907
 hynen] seruauntis. þat aȝen] aȝen. 908 nome] toke. 910 byhet
 ham] began. 913 ffor þo he drof þe marchauntis out of þe temple ȝit
 had þe schrewe dred. 914 he hit] þat he. 916 By-twene] As betwen.
 920 ne shal neuere lord þe] schal þe neuere. sede] þo seide. 922 worst]
 schat be.

'Before cock-crow you shall forsake me thrice.'

pat þou shalt to-niȝt ar cokkes crowe : pries fforsake me.
'So nelle ich nouȝt,' quap þis oper : 'þei ich sholde deye wiþ
þe.'

perffore oure lord þis wordes : to Seint Peter sede
Lest þe disciples þer-ffore : were ybrouȝt in drede.

924

Jesus comforted
the disciples
that they might
not be anxious
(the gospel for
St. Philip and
St. James day).

Oure lord spak to ham : of confort longe þo

pat hi nere ffor þat word : in care ne in wo,

928

Ac þat he sholde ffram ham wende : as þe gospel seiþ vs

Vp Seint Phelip ⁊ Iacob : þat by-gunneþ þus :

NE beo ȝoure heorte : in distourbaunce ydo,
Ak byleoueþ in god : and in me al-so.

932

In my ffader hous beoþ : wonnynges many on,

ffor men shulleþ as hi wircheþ her : such mede habbe
echon.

þanne is þer diuerse ioye : after diuerse dede.

ȝif ich in eny þing : to lutel ȝow habbe ysede

936

ffor to diȝte ȝoure stede : by-ffore ich wolle ffare,

And ȝif ich wende fforþ : to make ȝoure stede ȝare,

Eftsonen ich wolle to ȝow come : and take ȝow to me ;

ffor þer as ich am : so shulle ȝe alle beo,

940

And whoder ich go ȝe witeþ wel : and þe wey ȝe witeþ þerto.'

Thomas couldn't
understand this.

þo sede Seint Thomas : 'lord how miȝte we so ?

ffor we nuteþ nere whoder : þat þou wolt go.

How mowe we þanne ywite þe wey : oure lord sede þo,

944

'Ich am wey of sopnesse : and lif : as ȝe mowe yseo

No man comeþ to my ffader : bote hit þorw me beo,

And ȝif þat ȝe knoweþ me : my ffader ȝe knoweþ al-so.'

'I am the way
of truth and
life,' Jesus said

þo sede Seint Phelip : 'lord, þi wille beo ydo,

And þi ffader shewe vs : þo sede Ihesu þis :

948

'Of al þat ich haue wiþ ȝow ybeo : ȝe ne knoweþ me ywis.

Philip said,
'Show us thy
father.'

925 oure lord þis wordes] þes wordis oure lord. 926 Lest] þat. þer-
ffore were] were.

927 to ham of confort longe] of counfort wiþ hem
wolde.

928 care ne in] no care 929 Ac þat] And for. seiþ vs]

seiþ. 930 Vp] of. Iacob] seint Iacob. by-gunneþ þus] þus begynneþ.

931 beo] be not. 932 al-so] bileueth also. 934 wircheþ her] werke.

936 in eny] ony. ȝow habbe] to ȝou. 937 diȝte ȝoure] make ȝou. by-
ffore] before ȝou.

940 ffor] þat. so shulle ȝe alle] þat ȝe also þere.

941 go ȝe witeþ] go I wot. þe] my. 943 þat þou] þou. 944 we

þanne] ȝe wite. 945 of] and. as ȝe] ȝe. 946 No] And no. 947

ȝif þat] ȝif. 948 beo ydo] do. 949 þo sede Ihesu] ihesu seide.

950 ne knoweþ me] knowe me not.

Phelip, who-so seop me ⁊ my ffader he seop per-to.
 How is hit þanne þat þou seyst ⁊ shewe vs þi ffader so ? 952
 Of al þat þou art wip me ⁊ ne byleouestou nouzt þis,
 þat ich am on my ffader ⁊ and my ffader in me is ?
 þorw my-sulf ne speke ich nouzt ⁊ þe wordes þat ich sede,
 ffor my ffader þat in me is ⁊ wircheþ al þe dede. 956
 Ne byleoue 3e nouzt þis ⁊ as ich er sede þe
 þat ich in my ffader am ⁊ and my ffader in me ?
 3if 3e ffor non oper þing ⁊ nolleþ by-leoue so
 By-leoueþ ffor þe miracles ⁊ and þe dedes þat ich do. 960
 Ich segge 3ow to soþe þis ⁊ who-so byleoueþ on me
 þe dedes þat ich do my-sulf ⁊ also shal he
 And 3ut more he shal do ⁊ ffor-to þat ich to my fader wende,
 And what 3e byddeþ in my name ⁊ ich wolle 3ow do ⁊ sende.
 { If þat 3e loueþ me ⁊ myn hestes 3e do, 965
 And ich wolle my ffader bydde ⁊ ⁊ he wole per-to
 Sende 3ow an-oper confort ⁊ þat in 3ow shal wende,
 þe holy gost of sopnesse ⁊ and beo wip 3ow by-þoute
 ende. 968
 þat þe wordle may nouzt affonge ⁊ ffor he ne seop him nouzt
 Ne not noping of him ⁊ ak 3e shulleþ in 3oure þouzt,
 And shulleþ him aperteliche ⁊ yknowe and ek yseo,
 [ffor wip 3ou he wil bileue ⁊ and in 3ou also ibe. 971a
 I wil not beleue 3ou helpeles ⁊ as 3oure frend hap be wone, b
 As fadirles ⁊ modirles ⁊ but I wile eft to 3ou come.
 But þe world a litil heraftir ⁊ ne schal not me iseo] c
 And 3e seop me wel ⁊ ffor a-lyue ich wolle beo, d
 And shulleþ ek in heuene ⁊ lybbe whanne tyme is. 972
 þanne 3e shulleþ wel ywite ⁊ þat ich am ⁊ in my ffader ywis.
 And 3e beop in me ek ⁊ and ich in 3ow al-so
 And who-so affongeþ myn heste. and per-after wole do, 976
 952 þi] þe. 953 ne byleouestou] leuest þou. 954 on my] in my.
 955 my-sulf ne] my soule. sede] 3ou sede. 956 þe] þat. 957 nouzt
 þis] not. er sede] seide er to. 958 in my ffader am] am in my fadir.
 961 to soþe] for soþe. 963 ffor-to þat ich to] for to. 964 3ow do] do.
 965 3e do] þat 3e do. 966 wole] 3ou wille. 967 Sende 3ow] sende.
 968 beo wip 3ow] with 3ou ben. 969 affonge] be vndirfonge. he ne
 seop] men seke. 970 Ne not] Ne. shulleþ] om. 971 And
 shulleþ him aperteliche] Schuln him aperth. ek yseo] se. 973
 whanne tyme] ⁊ whan þat tyme. 974 3e schul haue al plente of ioye
 and of blis. 975 in 3ow] 3ou in. 976 affongeþ] vndirfonge.

Jesus answered,
 'Who sees me
 sees my father.'

Don't ye believe
 that I am in my
 father and he in
 me?

[p. 204]

If ye love me
 keep my hests
 and I will ask
 my father to
 send you a com-
 forter, the Holy
 Ghost.

c I will come
 again to you but
 d the world shall
 not see me.

Then ye shall
 know that I am
 in my father and
 ye in me.

My father will
love him who
loves me.

He hit is pat louep me ⁊ and who-so louep me ywis,
Of my ffader he worp yloued ⁊ and ich segge al-so þis
W Ho-so louep me wel ⁊ my word he wole do
And my ffader wole him loue ⁊ and we shulleþ
also 980
To him come and myd him ⁊ make oure wonyngne.

The Holy Ghost
shall teach you.

Who-so louep me nouzt ⁊ þe wordes þat ich fforþ bringe,
He nele nouzt witye ne loky ⁊ ne þe wordes ywis
þat 3e haueþ yhurð ⁊ nys nouzt myn ak hit is his 984
þat me hider sende, my ffader ⁊ þat ich 3ow habbe y-speke þis
þat ich byleue her wiþ 3ow ⁊ þe beste confort þat is,
þe holy gost pat my ffader ⁊ wole among 3ow do.
He shal 3ou teche alle þing ⁊ and in 3ou bringe al-so 988
Alle þing þat ich 3ou segge ⁊ and ich bytwene ywis

I give my peace
among you—not
as the world
gives.

Pees among 3ow 3iue ⁊ þe pees þat myn is.
Nouzt as þe wordle 3iueþ ⁊ y ne 3iue 3ow nouzt.
Ne beo 3oure heorte nouzt destourbed ⁊ ne in drede ybrouzt.
3e habbeþ yhurð ⁊ þat ich 3ow sede þis, 993
þat ich wole wende ⁊ and come eftsone a3en ywis.

If ye loved me
ye would be joy-
ful that I go to
my father.

3if 3e louede me 3e wolde ⁊ beo in ioye and blis,
ffor ich wende to my ffader ⁊ ffor my ffader is 996
More þan ich, and ich habbe ⁊ ysed 3ow þis echon,

The prince of
this world is
come, but he has
no power over
me.

Er þan ich beo an-haunsed ⁊ þat 3e hit leoue anon.
Eftsone whanne hit is ydo ⁊ and y nelle wiþ 3ou nouzt
Speke now wel muche ⁊ ffor he is now fforþ ybrouzt 1000
And ycome is þe prince of þis wordle ⁊ ak no power he naþ ywis
In me ⁊ ak þat þe world ⁊ her-after wel yknowe þis,
þat ich louye my ffader ⁊ and as my ffader þerto
Haþ y3iue me an heste ⁊ riht al-so ich do. 1004

977 louep me] me loue. 978 worp] schal be. al-so] ek. 979 me
wel] wel me. 980 wole him] him wil. 982 Who-so] And who-so.
983 witye] kepe. ne] and. 984 yhurð] here it. ak] but. 985
þat ich 3ow habbe y-speke þis] and I wil speke iwis. 986 þat] And.
þe beste] þe. 987 þat my] my. wole among 3ow do] amongis 3ou wil
go. 989 bytwene] bileue. 990 3iue] ⁊ I 3ou 3eue. 991 ne] om.
992 3oure heorte nouzt] not 3oure heorte. 993 yhurð] wel herd. 994
come eftsone a3en] eft come to 3ou. 996 ffor] and to. 997 More]
Hizere. 3ow] to 3ou. 998 þat or it be ido þat &c. 999 nelle]
duelle. 1000 now wel] wel. muche] meche þing. he is now fforþ]
forþ he is. 1001 is þe] þe. ak] þat. he naþ] haþ. 1002 þat] in.
her-after wel] wel. þis] is. 1003 þat] And. and as] and. 1004
al-so ich do] as it ido.

In þe by-gunnyng 3e mowe y-seo ⁊ her of þis gospel,
 Wher-by 3e mowe knowe a man ⁊ þat loueþ god wel ;
 ffor 3if me askede ⁊ wheþer he louede god ⁊ more oþer þe
 þer nys non of 3ow ⁊ þat nolde segge 3e ; 1008 [p. 205] Any one if asked
 Ak þat nys nouȝt riȝt sykernesse ⁊ ffor as þe wise man sede
 þe preouyng of loue is ⁊ ffol wirchyng in dede.
 þer-ffore seȝþ oure lord here ⁊ þat his heste wole do
 þe man þat him loueþ wel ⁊ and in dede hit preouy so, 1012 He who says he
 ffor þe bok seiþ þat ech man ⁊ strong lyere is loves God but
 þat seiþ þat he loueþ god ⁊ and dop nouȝt his heste ywis. does not his
 How we shulleþ ȝut wel do ⁊ oure lord wisseþ vs heats is a strong
 In þe gospel a seint Markes day ⁊ þat bygunneþ þus : 1016 (The gospel for
 ‘ T O soþe ich segge 3ow ⁊ þat what þing 3e wolleþ echon St. Mark’s day.)
 My ffader bydde in my name ⁊ he wole hit ȝou ȝiue
 anon.
 3e nabbeþ noþing her-to ȝut ⁊ ybede in my name ywis.
 Byddeþ and 3e shulleþ affonge ⁊ ȝif 3e axeþ þat riȝtffol is. 1020 Ask and ye shall
 Byddeþ and 3e shulleþ vnderffonge ⁊ þat ȝoure ioye ffol beo. receive if ye ask
 And þe tyme comeþ now ⁊ and þat 3e shulleþ y-seo aright.
 þat y nelle namore speke in tale ⁊ ak al apert ywis.
 Of him y wole 3ow telle ⁊ þat my ffader is, 1024 I speak no more
 And pulke day in my name ⁊ 3e shulleþ bydde and do, openly. Pray
 And ich wolle my ffader ⁊ ffor 3ow bydde al-so in my name and
 ffor my ffader him-sulf loueþ ȝou ⁊ ffor 3e loueþ me I shall also pray
 And leoueþ þat ich to him come ⁊ ⁊ wiþ him euere beo ; 1028 for you to my
 And out of my ffader ich wende ⁊ ⁊ into þe world ich com þo father who loves
 And eftsome ich fforsake þe world ⁊ and to my ffader go.’ you.
 Þo sede his disciples to him ⁊ ‘ aperteliche þi lore
 Þou spext now lo ⁊ and ne seist ⁊ by-tes namore. 1032 ‘Now thou
 speakest open-
 ly,’ said the dis-
 ciples.

1006 god] om. 1007 oþer þe] þan oþer þinge. 1008 nolde &c.]
 wolde seiȝe 3a wiþouten lesinge. 1009 Ak] But. nouȝt riȝt] om. as]
 vs. 1010 preouyng] riȝte prouyng. ffol] om. 1011 his] he his.
 1012 þe] þat. hit preouy] him prueþ. 1014 god] om. nouȝt] om.
 1015 How wel we schul ȝit do oure good lord seiþ þis. 1017 3ow] ȝou
 þis. 1018 hit] om. 1019 3e haue noþing in my name ibide ȝit
 þerto. 1020 omitted. 1021 ffol beo] be ful do. 1021a I haue
 as bitale spoke to ȝou þis lore. 1022 And] But. and þat 3e shulleþ
 y-seo] þat I wil no more. 1023 To ȝou speke in talis but apert iwis.
 1025-1028 omitted. 1031 þi lore] þin ore. 1032 now lo] lo now.
 ne] om.

'Now we see
thou knowest
all things.'

Now we witeþ wel ynow : þat alle þing þat is
And þat shal beo þou wost wel : and no need hit nys
þat eny man þe aske ouzt : as we dude ylome
ffor her-þorw we leoueþ wel : þat of god þou come. 1036

'Ye believe
now,' said Jesus,
'but soon ye
shall scatter
and leave me
alone.'

'Now 3e leoueþ,' quap oure lord : 'ak þe tyme wel ney is
þat 3e shulleþ among 3ow : sprede abroad ywis,
And by-leue al-one : whanne ich worþ in pyne ybrouzt,
Ak ffor my ffader is wiþ me : al-one ne worþ ich nouzt. 1040

Lifting up his
eyes, he said,
'Father glorify
thy Son that thy
Son may glorify
thee.'

AS oure lord Ihesus : his eyen caste an hey
Toward heuene he sede : 'ffader : þe tyme is ney
Ycome : þat þou clernesse : on þi sone do,
þat þi sone þe mowe : make cler al-so. 1044

This he spake of
his death and
up-rising by
which the folk
saw the power
of his father.

What is now þe clernesse : of whan oure lord sede
Bote þat þe ffader clerlich : shewede in his dede
þat þe sone þat was man : kudde in his dede
And ffram depe arise to lyue : azen kunde of manhede ? 1048
þe sone sholde ek in his dede : þe ffader make cler,
þat þe folk in his vprisynge : seye þe ffaderes power,
þat he were of mizte : þer-ffore he seiþ þer-to,
'þat þi sone mowe : make þe cler also ; 1052

'As thou hast
given the Son
power over all

[p. 206]

flesh so he may
give life without
end ; and this is
life, to know
thee.

þat as þou hast him yziue : of euerich flesch power
So þat he mowe euerich þing : þat þou him 3eue er
ziue lif wipouten ende : and þat lif is þis

Wipouten ende þat hi knowe : þat þou art ywis 1056

Sop god and non oþer : and þat hi knowe al-so

Him þat þou hast hider ysend : and in eorþe ydo.

Ich haue ymad þe cler in eorþe : and þat werk al-so

To ende ich haue now ybrouzt : þat þou toke me to do ; 1060

And ffader by-ffore þi-sulf : make me now cler

In pulke clernesse þat ich hadde : ar ich come her ;

And ich habbe y-brouzt þe world to þe : ffor þi name and pouste.

Ich haue yshewed to men of þe wordle : þat þou 3eue me. 1064

Now I have
finished the
work thou gav-
est me.

1035 we] men. 1037 ak] þat. wel] om. 1039 al-one] me

alone. worþ in pyne] schal in pyne be. 1040 Ak] And. ne worþ
ich] 3e schul be. 1044 þat] And þat. þe mowe make] mowe make

þe. 1046 þe] his. in his] his. 1047 in his dede] his god hede. 1049
ek] so. 1050 þat] þat alle. seye þe] þe. 1051 þat] Isighe þat.

1052 Ihesu wiþ his owen moup þe make &c. 1053 as] also as. 1057

god] god on. 1059 ymad þe cler in] þe made cler on. 1061 þi-

sulf] þi soule. me now] now me. 1062 In] And in. 1063

pouste] þi pouste. 1064 to men of þe wordle] men þe word.

pine hi were and pou ham hast : yziue me ⁊ ytake,
And hi habbeþ wel ykept þi word : ⁊ me nouȝt fforsake,
And þinges þat pine beoþ : al-so beoþ myne.
In þulke þinges ich am ymad : eler atte ffyne,
And y nam nouȝt now in þe wordle : ak out þer-of ynome,
Ak hi beoþ in þe wordle : and ich to þe come.'

1068 Things that are
thine are mine
also, and now I
come to thee.'

In þis manere oure swete lord : ar he ynome were
By-gan his disciples : to conforti and lere,
þat hi whanne he were ynome : in wanhope nere,
Ne by-leuede hare holy stat : ffor wanhope ne ffor ffere.
At þe Mount of Olyuet : oure lord sede al þis
On Shereþorsday at niȝt : in þe euenynge ywis.

1072 Thus our Lord
comforted his
disciples to keep
them from wan-
hope.

A Shereþorsday þo hit was : wel wip-ynne eue,
Oure lord het his disciples : a stounde to byleue
By-neoþe þe hulle of Olyuet : ⁊ him-sulf
steý

1076

He bade them
wait below
while he went
up the hill of
Olivet with
Peter, John, and
James.

Myd his þreo disciples : vp þe hulle an hey,
Seint Peter and seint Ion : and seint Iame al-so,
ffor þeos þreo were him euere next : of al þat he wolde do.
'Byddeþ ȝoure bedes,' quap oure lord, 'þat in ffondyng ȝe ne
gon.

1080

My soule is sori ⁊ in anguisse : to þe deþe hastyng anon.' 1084
ffram ham he wente þo : þe þrowynge of a stone ;
And þeos wordes he sede : to his ffader þo he was al-one,
'Let þis anguisse ffram me go : ȝif hit may beo ydo.'
Plat he ffele a-doun to grounde : and sede ȝut þer-to, 1088
'To soþe noþing as ich wole : ak as þou wolt ywis.'
þo he hadde þis preyere y-do : and ysed al þis
To his disciples he wente aȝen : ak a-slepe he ham ffounde.
'Peter' : he sede, 'slepestou now : ne miȝtou one stounde 1092

He went a
stone's cast from
them and
prayed.

But when he re-
turned he found
them asleep.

1066 ⁊ me] and. 1067 pine] in me. beoþ myne] þei beth in þine.
1068 In] And in. ich am] echon. 1069 in] of. ak] but. 1070
Ak] And. 1071 swete] om. he] he henes. 1072 lere] to lere.
1073 ynome] take. 1074 by-leuede] lefte. wanhope] sorwe. 1075
al þis] þis. 1076 On] A. 1078 het] bad. to] om. 1080 his]
þese. 1082 al þat] þat. 1083 in ffondyng ȝe ne] ȝe in no fondinge.
1084 hastyng] om. 1085 he wente þo] alone he wente. 1086 he
sede] seide. al-one] þeron. 1089 ak] but. 1090 þis preyere y-do]
don þis preiere. 1091 wente aȝen ak] wente. 1092 slepestou
now] slepist þou. one] not a.

'Watch with me now,' he said, 'and bid your beads, for against my death I am sad enough.'

Again he went and prayed and again found them asleep and blamed them.

[p. 207]

After his third prayer an angel comforted him.

He went toward his death in anguish and fear; he sweat red blood.

O Jesu, how strong was thy dread!

Again he found the disciples asleep. 'Wake,' he said, 'those who seek me sleep not.'

Waky now wiþ me.' wakeþ ich 3ou rede alle,
 And byddeþ 3oure bedes.' þat 3e in fflondyng ne fflalle
 ffor aȝen þe deþ ich am.' sori ynow ywis;
 My gost is prest þerto.' and my flesch vnsiker is.' 1096
 Vp þe hul he wende eftsone.' and eftsone sede al-so,
 '3if þis ne may ffram me wende.' þi wil, fflader, beo ydo.'
 3ut he fflond ham a-slepe eftsone.' ffor hi ne miȝte ffor-bere.
 He blamede ham.' and hi ne coupe.' 3iue him non answer. 1100
 Þe þridde tyme he wente aȝen.' ⁊ his preyere made longe,
 ffor bytwene his flesch ⁊ his soule.' þe batayl was wel
 stronge.
 He quakede ffor drede of deþ.' and an aungel adoun alizte
 ffram heuene him to solacy.' and confforty what he miȝte. 1104
 Þo þe tyme no leng ne 3af.' to by-leue þere,
 He wente toward his owe deþ.' in gret anguisse and fflere.
 ffor drede in-to al his body.' red blod he gan to swete
 þat hit 3orn ffram him adoun.' þe dropes monye and grete.
 O.' Ihesu.' swete þing.' whar is oure heorte now? 1109
 ffor to polye so strong deþ.' lutel gult haddestou,
 þat ar þou come þer-to.' þe bloody dropes rede
 þou swattest, Ihesu, swete þing.' strong was þi drede. 1112
 Bouȝtestou vs al wiþ nouȝt.' nay, lemman ywis,
 Strong was þi deþ atten ende.' Ihesu kyng of blis,
 Whanne þou ar þou come þer-to.' swattest red blod.
 How miȝtou, man, þis yhure.' bote þou chaunge þi mod? 1116
 3ut þo he com to his disciples.' he fflond ham slepe echon.
 'Wakeþ,' he sede, 'now a stounde.' and lokeþ þat now slepe
 non.
 Hi slepeþ nouȝt þat secheþ men.' ffor hi beoþ ney ycome.
 Ariseþ vp and go we fforþ.' ffor ich worþ sone ynome.' 1120

1093 3ou rede] rede 3ou. 1094 bedes] orisouns. 1095 ffor I am
 aȝen þe deþ &c. 1096 prest] al prest. vnsiker] sik. 1097 eftsone
 sede] eft he seide. 1099 ne miȝte] myȝten it not. 1101 wente]
 ȝede. his preyere made] made his preier. 1102 flesch ⁊ his soule] gost
 ⁊ his flesch. wel stronge] stronge. 1103 deþ] þe deþe. an aungel
 adoun] þe aungil. 1104 confforty] confortid. 1105 þo þe] þe. 1107
 to swete] swete. 1108 grete] wete. 1110 gult] nede. 1112
 þi drede] þo þi dede. 1113 Bouȝtist vs þou al &c. 1117 3ut] And.
 1118 and lokeþ þat now slepe non] slepith nouȝt on. 1119 men] me.
 1120 ich worþ sone] sone I shal be.

MYd his disciples *Ihesus* : wente fforþ anon
 By-3onde þe water 3eornynge : þat me clupeþ *Cedron*
 And wip ynne niȝt he wente : in an orchard þat þer
 was,

Crossing the
 brook Cedron
 with his disci-
 ples Jesus went
 into an orchard
 there.

And his disciples ek : and þat wuste wel *Iudas*
 þat him solde to þe gywes : þat þuder ffor to gon
Ihesus was ofte ywoned : myd his disciples echon.
 Þo he hadde fforþ wip him : a gret companye ynome
 And of þe bisschopes men : and of pharisees some
 Myd lanternes and myd brondes : ⁊ myd oþer armes hi come
 þere.

1124 *Judas* knew the
 place and led
 a great company
 thither with
 lanterns and
 brands.

1128

Alle þing *Ihesus* by-flore wuste : þat þo comyng were.
 Anon so *Iudas* him ysey : by-flore he gan gon,
 ‘Mayster,’ he sede, ‘hayl þou beo’ : and custe him anon.
 ‘ffreond,’ quap oure lord þo : ‘to wham artou ycome ?
 þou takest an Mannes sone : myd cos to beo ynome.’
 Se ȝut oure lord wuste wel : *Iudas* luper dede
 And ȝut he clupede him ffreond : þer was a Mylde dede.
 He ȝaf him fforbusne ynow : as ȝe mowe yseo,
 ffor to come to fforȝiuenesse : and in no wanhope to beo.
 Oure lord stepte a lutel fforþ : and þe gywes by-helde
 echon.

1132 ‘Hail Master,’
 he said, and
 kissed him.
 ‘Friend,’ said
 Jesus, ‘why art
 thou come ?’

1136 That was a mild
 deed to call him
 friend.

He sede, ‘whan seche ȝe’ : and hi answerede anon,
 ‘*Ihesu*,’ hi sede, ‘of Nazareth’ : þo oure lord aȝen sede,
 ‘Ich hit am’ : and þe gywes : anon ffile adoun ffor drede.
 ffor miracles þat he hadde ydo : hi ffile to grounde vpriȝt,
 And ffor drede nuste : whaper hit was day oþer niȝt,
 Ak leyen þer as dede men : so sore hi were agrise.
 Oure lord ham axede eftsone : þo hi were arise,
 ‘Whan seche ȝe among ȝow’ : þe gywes sede þis,
 ‘We secheþ *Ihesu* of Nazareth’ : oure lord answerede ywis,

1140 ‘Whom seek
 ye?’ Jesus
 asked.

When he told
 the Jews who he
 was they fell
 down for dread,
 and lay like dead
 men.

1144

1122 water ȝeornynge] rennyng water. 1123 And] Al. 1124
 þat wuste wel] wel wiste. 1128 of pharisees] þe pharises. 1129
 And wip lanternes and wip armes þei &c. 1130 Al *ihesu* wiste wel þat
 to &c. 1131 so *Iudas*] as *ihesu*. 1132 and custe] he kissid. 1133
 ffreond] ffor. wham] what þing. 1135 Se] þough. wel] al.
 1136 ȝit he clepid him his friend here was a synful rede. 1138 To
 forȝifnes to come and &c. 1139 a lutel] al out. 1140 He] And.
 and hi] þei. 1141 þei seide *ihesu* of nazareth oure &c. 1142 anon
 ffile adoun ffor] stode anon al in. 1143 hi] ⁊. 1145 Ak] And.

[p. 208] 'Ne sede ich 3ow þat ich hit am ⁊ and ich bydde 3ow echon

'If ye seek me,' Leteþ, 3if 3e secheþ me ⁊ my disciples sauflich gon.
he said, 'let my disciples go.'

þis he sede ffor þe prophete ⁊ longe sede byfore,
'Of pulke þat þou 3eue me ⁊ y nabbe non fforlore.'

1152

Then the Jews
took him and
bound him fast.
All the disciples
but Peter and
John fled.

þo wente þe gywes fforþ ⁊ and nome him ffaste anon,
And helde him and bounde ⁊ ek ⁊ and his disciples echon
By-gonne to fleo ffor ffire ⁊ þer by-lefte non
Bote hi þat him louede mest ⁊ seint Peter ⁊ seint Ion.
'As to a þeof,' quap oure lord ⁊ 'to me 3e beoþ ycome;
Myd swerdes and myd staues ⁊ 3e me habbeþ ynome.'

1156

Peter drew his
sword and smote
off the ear of
Malcus. 'Put
back your sword
in the sheath,
Peter,' said
Jesus, and set
Malcus's ear on
again.

Peter drow out his swerd ⁊ in gret wrappø and grame;
A gywes ere he smot of ⁊ Malcus was his name.
'þi swerd, Peter,' quap oure lord ⁊ 'in þi shepe a3en þou do.
Who-so smyt wiþ swerd he worþ ⁊ y-smyte wiþ swerd also.
Ne mi3te ich nou3te my fflader bydde ⁊ ⁊ he me wolde sende
Twelf þousand legiouns of aun3eles ⁊ to bringe me of þis bende ⁊
þe drynke þat my fflader me 3if ⁊ ne sholde ich hit drinke
nou3t ⁊'

1160

1165

What was þe drinke bote þe deþ ⁊ þat he was to ybrou3t ⁊
Oure lord sette þe ere a3en ⁊ and made hit hol anon.
Seint Ion louede oure lord so ⁊ þat he nolde ffram him
gon.

The Jews caught
John by his
'cheysel': he
left it and fled
away all bare.

A þynne cheysel he hadde on ⁊ þe gywes hit vnder3ete
þat he myd Ihesus was ⁊ þer-flore hi þou3te him nou3t lete.

1169

Hi helde him by þe cheysel ⁊ and þo he ne sey non oþer won
þat cheysel he lefte ⁊ and al bar ffram ham fleý anon;

1172

Peter followed
afar to the court
of Anna the
bishop.

Ak seint Peter nolde ⁊ ffor noping 3ut away wende.
He sywede euere him ffer and to ⁊ ffor to seo þan ende.
Hi ladde Ihesus ffaste ybounde ⁊ to on þat bisschop was,
ffor his court was in þe wey ⁊ þorw þe heste of Cayphas.

1176

1149 þat] not. ich bydde] sei3e. 1150 3if 3e me seken leteth myne
discipulis gon. 1151 þis he sede] He seide þis. 1153 nome] tokin.
1155 ffire] drede. 1160 ere] ri3te ere. 1161 in þi] in his. þou
do] do. 1162 he worþ &c.] wiþ swerd he schal be smyt also. 1164
þousand] om. 1165 3if] 3af. hit drinke] drinke it. 1166 þe
drinke] þat drink. þe deþ] his deþ. 1168 nolde] nolde not. 1170
þer-flore hi] þei. him nou3t] not him to. 1171 and þo he ne] but þo
he. 1172 lefte] bileued hem. ffram ham fleý] fleigh. 1173 But
seint petir alwei wolde in alle manere forþ wende. 1174 ffer and]
ferhando. 1175 on] anne. 1176 þe heste] heste.

pat bisschop was in pulke 3ere : as hit aboute com,
 And ffor he was his ffelawe : his counseyl per he nom,
 And ffor ham pouzte vylenye : by his court him lede,
 Such counseler as he was : bote hi dude by his rede. 1180
 Hi ladde Ihesus byffore him : as a peof to his dome.
 3ut eftsone in priuete : seint Ion a3en to him wolde come.
 Of pe bisschop he was yknowe : whar-3orw he com wip-
 ynne, John won leave to go in for him-
 self and Peter.
 And seint Peter stod wip-oute : and ne mi3te no leue wynne,
 Ak seint Ion wan his leue : wip-ynne of pe vsschere. 1185
 po seint Peter was ynne ycome : sone he wente nere,
 And a womman pat was vsschere : accusede him fflaste ywis,
 And sede, 'pis mannes disciple pou art : pat 3end is.' 1188
 Peter fforsok and sede nay : as oure lord by-het him er.
 pe gywes stode and hette ham : by a goed fflur per,
 ffor pat weder was wel cold : and seint Peter al-so
 Stod and hette him wip hem : as he mi3te come per-to. 1192
 On of ham accusede oure lord : and axede what he were,
 And what his techinge was : pat he gan pe gywes lere.
 'Ich habbe,' quap oure lord po : 'al open and aperteliche
 Y-speke in pe temple and ytauzt : and noping priueliche. 1196
 Ech of ham pat hurde me : hi wite3 al my lore.'
 po hupte per ffor3 a gadelyng : and smot him wel sore
 Vnder pe ere a boffet : and po he hadde pat ydo,
 He axede him whi he answerede : hare bisschop so. 1200
 '3if ich habbe,' quap oure lord : 'ou3t yspeke amys,
 Ber panne wytnesse : of ping pat vuel is ;
 And 3if ich habbe wel yspeke : whi smyttestou me so ?
 O : Ihesu lutel was 3i gult : and lutel haddestou mysdo. 1204

They led Jesus before him like a thief to his doom.

John won leave to go in for himself and Peter.

An usher pointed Peter out as a disciple of Jesus but he denied it.

Anna accused Jesus and asked what his teaching was. He answered, 'My

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teaching has not been secret.'

A gadelyng leaped forth and smote him under the ear.

'If I have spoken amiss, bear witness,' said Jesus ; 'if not, why smite me ?'

1178 per he] he. 1179 lede] to lede. 1180 counseler] heigh
 maistir. 1182 priuete] derkhede. a3en to him wolde] to him. 1184
 ne mi3te] myzte. 1185 Ak] But. wan his] gat him. 1186 And
 po petir wipinne was sone &c. 1187 And a] A. 1188 3is] pat.
 1189 by-het him] him bihi3t. 1190 hette] warmed. a goed] pe.
 1191 pat] pe. was] was was. 1192 hette] warmed. 1193
 On of ham] Anna. 1194 his techinge was] were his teching.
 1195 open and] om. 1197 wite3] knowen. 1198 hupte per]
 ros up. 1199 pat ydo] ido. 1200 He axid whi here bischop he
 answerid po so. 1203 smyttestou] betist pou. 1204 O Ihesu] Ihesu.
 and lutel haddestou] litil pou haddist.

Anna sent Jesus
to Caiaphas.
Peter followed
to see it to the
end.

Do sende Anna þe bisschop : oure lord ybounde ffaste
To Cayphas þat was an oper bisschop : ffram him atte laste.
Peter him sywede euere : ffor to seo þan ende,
And þo he com to þe domhalle : myd opere he gan yn wende.

Caiaphas asked
what Jesus had
misdone, but
he answered
nothing.

Cayphas as a lord : and as a Mayster al-so 1209
Axede ffurst of oure lord : what he hadde mysdo.
þe gywes anon and þe budeles : aȝen oure lord sede
þat he wipsede hare lawe : and dude mony an vuel dede.
Ihesus ne answerede nouȝt : of þat hi vp him bere. 1213

Caiaphas asked
if he were God's
son and Jesus
replied, 'Thou
sayest sooth.'

Cayphas axede þo : ȝif he godes sone were,
And coniured him in godes name : þat soþe ffor to shewe.
Ihesus sede, 'þou seist soþ' and þat ȝe alle her-by-ffore knewe ;
And one Mannes sone, he sede : 'ȝe shulleþ ȝut y-seo 1217
Sitte in his ffader riȝt hond : and eftsone ffileo

Then Caiaphas
rent his clothes
and said, 'Ye
have heard his
words, what
does he de-
serve?'

In þe clowdes and come adoun : a domesday ywis,
Whanne he wole liȝte a-doun : oure lord sede al pis. 1220
Cayphas þo Ihesus was yknowe : þat he was godes sone
ffo[r] skorn carf his owe clopes : as gywes wollep by wone
Whanne me spekeþ ouȝt aȝen hare god : 'habbe ȝe,' he sede,
'Y-hurd his hoker-words' and his hoker-ffol dede ? 1224
What pinkeþ ȝow by him : what may he worþ beo ?

The Jews said,
'To die on the
rood.' Then
they bound him,
spat upon him,
buffeted and
scourged him.

'He is coupable,' þe gywes sede : 'to deye on þe rode-treo.'
þe shrewes helde him ffaste anon : and spatte on him a-boute,
And harlede him and grennede on him : and in skorn gonne to
a-loute. 1228

Harde boffetes hi him ȝeue : vnder his eyþer ere ;
Hi hudde his eyen and bede him : arede who hit were ;
Hi bounde him to a pyler : and wip scourges gonne him bete,
þat þer ȝorn down to his ffet : þe blodly stremes grete. 1232

1205 ybounde ffaste] atte laste. 1206 To þe bischop cayfas ibounde
wol faste. 1207 him sywede] siwid. þan] þe. 1209 lord] lording.
1210 of oure] oure. 1211 and þe] as. 1212 mony an] many.
1213 ne] om. 1214 axede þo] him axid anon. he godes sone] goddis
sone he. 1215 And] He. in] a. þat] þe. 1216 þat ȝe alle
her-by-ffore knewe] was al iknowe. 1217 one] om. 1219 a] be.
1222 skorn] hokir. carf his owe] he carf his. 1223 god] wille.
1224 Y-hurd his] Iberde. and his] and þis. 1225 What] How. 1226
coupable] worþi. rode-treo] tre. 1227 helde him] him helde. anon]
om. 1228 in skorn gonne to] on hokir þei gynne him. 1229 his] om.
Vv. 1231-32 occur after 1414. 1231 Hi] ffurst þei. and wip] with.
gonne] þei gonne. 1232 þat] om.

Al þe shame hi dude him ⁊ þat hi miȝte do.

O ⁊ swete Ihesu, þin ore ⁊ lutel was þi gult þer-to !

þou coupest, ham þouȝte, to lute goed ⁊ whanne hi hudde þin eye,
And who þe smot hi wende þat þou ne miȝtest ywite ⁊ bote þou
him seye ;
Sweet Jesu,
little was thy
guilt, when they
blinded thy
eyes ; but now
thou seest them
1236 suffering in hell.

Ak ich wot þou seost ham now ⁊ in helle in al hare teone,

In heuene þer þou sittest an hey ⁊ þei þer beo mucche bytweone.

Peter stod by þe ffur ⁊ and ysey al þis wo.

He nadde nouȝt so hardi fflesch ⁊ mucche neer him to go, 1240
And napeles he byheold him ffaste ⁊ a gyw hit vnder nom.
Peter stood by
the fire ; he dared
go no nearer, but
a Jew recognized
him.

He sede, ' þou art wiþ him þer ȝend ⁊ þat haþ þulke dom,

þou ne miȝt hit nouȝt fforsake ⁊ ffor þi speche sheweþ þe [p. 210]

And þou art of his cuntre ek ⁊ of þe lond of Galilee.' 1244

Seint Peter sede þat he ne knew him nouȝt ⁊ ⁊ grete oþes swor
per-to,
Peter with great
oaths denied
that he knew
Jesus.

Ak me pinkeþ þat oure lord ⁊ ne ley nouȝt ffor him þo.

On of þe bisschopes men ⁊ þat was Malcus Mey ywis,

Whas ere was y-smyte of ⁊ by seint Peter sede þis,

' What, ne sey ich þe nouȝt ⁊ myd him in þe orchard ?

Ich wot wel þat þou art wiþ him ⁊ þo peter þouȝte þat tydyng
hard,
One of the
bishop's men
said : ' I saw
you in the or-
chard.' Peter
denied again and
a cock crew.

And swor and Mansede him ⁊ ȝif he him dude knowe,

And anon wiþ þat word ⁊ þe cok by-gan to crowe.

Oure lord caste on him his eyen ⁊ anon wiþ þulke dede. 1252

Peter þouȝte anon ⁊ on þat oure lord to him sede,

þat he sholde him fforsake ⁊ þries ⁊ he gan to wepe sore,

And al wepyng wente him out ⁊ and ne com þer namore. 1256

In-to an old put he wente ⁊ wepyng þer he lay,

þat is þe put of cokkes crowe ⁊ ycluped ȝut to þis day.

He remembered
Jesus' words
and went out
weeping and
lay in the pit of
Cock's Crow.

1233 hi dude him] him þei dide. 1234 O swete Ihesu] A ihesu. 1235

Hem þouȝte þou koudist lite good &c. 1236 And wende þat þou ne

wiste ho þe smot but &c. 1237 Ak] ȝit. 1238 þer beo] it be.

1240 mucche] wol meche. 1242 þer] om. 1243 ne] om. ffor þi] þi.

þe] it þe. 1245 þat he ne knew] he knew. þer to] also. 1246 Ak]

As. þat oure] oure swete. ffor him þo] ȝit þer-to. 1247 þat was Malcus

Mey] malcus his mei. 1248 Whos ere petir smot of er anon seide þis.

1249 What I seigh þe with &c. 1250 I wot wel þou art wiþ him petir

was þo aferd. 1251 Mansede him] cursid himselue. 1252 anon]

sone. 1253 on] vp. 1254 þo petir þouȝte sone on þat he er sede.

1255 sholde him] him schulde. 1256 al wepyng wente him] wepyng

wente. ne com] com.

The devil had enticed the Jews to kill Jesus, but when he heard he was God's son he changed his course.

þe deuēl hadde entyced ⁊ þe gywes þer-by-ffore
To oure lordes deþ ⁊ suppe he was ybore, 1260

And nameliche suppe þulke tyme ⁊ þat he ybaptyzed was,
ffor he dradde þat he were ⁊ godes sone ⁊ þo he sey such cas
Ak anon þo he hurde him by-knowe ⁊ to þe bisschop Cayphas
þat he was godes sone ⁊ he amēdede his pas. 1264

To be ouercome þorw his deþ ⁊ sore þe shrewe dradde ;
Sore him of-pouzte þat þe gywes ⁊ þer-to by-ffore radde.
He nuste how he miȝte do þat he deliuered nere.

He came to Pilate's wife and urged her to save Jesus from death—but no thanks to him !

He pouzte þat wymmen to ouercome ⁊ esy ⁊ Mylde were. 1268
To pilatus wif he com a-niȝt ⁊ as hit were in metynge,
And radde hure to beo aboute ⁊ Ihesu ffram depe to bringe.
Me pinkeþ þer he was his ffreond ⁊ ak blame habbe þat him
þonk conne

ffor he ne durste ȝulpe nouȝt ⁊ þat he ouȝt þer-þorw wonne.
þe wyf sende a-morwe word ⁊ to pilatus þat he sholde 1273
Ihesu bringe ffro þe deþ ⁊ ak napeles he nolde.

In the morning the Jews led Jesus bound to Pilate to receive his doom, but wouldn't enter the house for Pilate was a paynym.

A Morwe þe gywes Ihesus nome ⁊ and bounde him wel
stronge

And ladde him to Pilatus ⁊ his dom ffor to affonge. 1276
To þe dom-halle hi ladde him ⁊ þer was hare Iustise,

Ak hi nolde wip-ynne þe hous ⁊ come in none wise,
Lest hi dude aȝen hare lawe ⁊ ffor hare lawe was
þat hi ne sholde þer in hare Ester tyme ⁊ come ffor no cas 1280
In no strounge Mannes hous ⁊ þat of hare lawe nere,
And Pilatus nas no gyw ⁊ Iustise þey he were,
Ak was of Paynyme ⁊ and þorw þemperour ysend ffram
Rome

ffor to entemptry þe gywes ⁊ and hold hem to riȝte dome. 1284

1259 þer-by-ffore] before. 1260 suppe] siȝen þat. 1263 Ak] And.
þo] as. 1265 To] ffor to. þorw] wiȝ. 1266 radde] he radde.

1268 to ouercome esy ⁊ Mylde] deboner be ⁊ ethe to ouercome. 1271
ak blame habbe] ⁊ þei. 1272 þei þurte ȝelpe nouȝt þat þei ouȝt þerwiȝ
wonne. 1274 ak] and. 1275 A morwe ihesu þe Iewis toke ⁊

bounden harde and stronge. 1277 Pilatus schulde ȝeue his dom þat
was þere Iustice. 1278 Ak] But. 1279 Lest] þat. 1280

þer in] in. ffor] bi. 1281 of hare] here. 1282 Iustise þey he]
þeih he Iustice. 1283 Ak was of] But he was a. ysend ffram] of.

After 1284 two lines added : As ȝif oure king of ingelond sente into walis/
His Iustice to chastie men þat þei dide not amys.

Out aȝen þe shrewede gywes.' pilatus wende anon
 To affonge hare acouplement; ' whanne hi nolde yn gon.
 Pilatus axede oure lord ' and of þe gywes al-so,
 Whi he were to dome ylad ' ⁊ what he hadde mysdo. 1288
 ' ffor ffour þinges, ' hi sede ' he is worþ to beo yslawe ;
 ffor he makeþ him godes sone ' and wipseip oure lawe,
 And ffor he sede þat he miȝte ' þe temple ffulle pere,
 And þe þridde day arere hit vp ' as strong as hit was ere, 1292
 And ffor he fforbed to ȝiue Cesar ' þemperour eny truage.
 Þis ffoure þinges hi bere on him ' ⁊ al was ffals ⁊ outrage.
 Now luper þrift vp-on hare heuedes ' ffor wel couþe hi lye ;
 ffor hi ne miȝte him wip truþe quelle ' hi wolde wip tricherye.
 Pilatus nom oure lord þo ' and al in counsayl sede, 1297
 And axede of him priueliche ' what was his mysdede.
 Aȝen he ladde him sone þo ' and sede, ' y ne can y-seo
 Non enchesoun in þis Man ' whi he sholde ded beo.' 1300
 ' He by-ȝan at Galilee, ' quap þe gywes ' aȝen oure lawe to
 speke

Pilate asked
 what Jesus had
 misdane.

' Four things :
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he makes him
 God's son, he
 denies our law,
 he said he could
 destroy the
 temple and rear
 it again, he for-
 bade tribute to
 Caesar.'

Pilate ques-
 tioned Jesus
 privately but
 found no reason
 why he should
 die.

1300

And by þe wey euere hiderward ' and now we wollep beo
 awreke.'

þo Pilatus þis yhurde ' þat he was of Galilee,
 He þouȝte þat Herodes was þer ' Mayster of euerich Cite. 1304
 Þer-ffore he nom Ihesus anon ' and to Herodes gan him sende
 ȝif he miȝte of him ouȝt ywite ' he sholde him telle þan
 ende.

When Pilato
 heard that Jesus
 was of Galilee he
 sent him to
 Herod who was
 in Jerusalem at
 the feast.

Herodes was ffor þe ffeste ' þo at Ierusalem by cas.

þo me brouȝte oure lord to him ' ioyffol ynnow he was,
 ffor he hurde of him speke ' he hadde to him gret wille.
 Of mony þinges he him axede ' ak euere he stod stille.

1308 Jesus wouldn't
 answer Herod's
 questions.

1286 affonge] take. 1287 oure] euele of oure. 1289 is] was.
 to beo yslawe] be brouȝt of dawe. 1290 makeþ] made. wipseip] wipseide.
 1291 temple] þridde day. 1293 ffor he fforbed] forbed. eny truage]
 truage. 1294 bere on him] vp him bere. was ffals ⁊] it was. 1295
 Now luper] Liper. ffor wel couþe hi] wel coude þe schrewis. 1296
 truþe quelle] soþe sle. 1297 nom] tok. al] om. 1298 of him] him
 wol. 1299 sone þo] sone. 1302 þe wey] weiȝe. 1304 euerich Cite]
 þat cuntre. 1305 nom Ihesus anon] tok anon ihesu. gan him] him gan.
 1306 ȝif he wiste of ony yuel þat he him tolde þe ende. 1307 þo at] at.
 1308 to] to fore. 1309 hurde] hadde herd. 1310 ak] ⁊. he]
 oure lord.

Herod sent him back to Pilate.
Herod and Pilate became good friends.

þo sente Herodes him aȝen ⁊ ycloped in white clope.
By-flore þat herodes ⁊ pilatus ⁊ hadde longe y-beo wrope, 1312
Ak þo bycome hi goede ffreondes ⁊ and al of one wille,
ffor more wrappe oure lord hadde power ⁊ to make beo stille.

'Neither Herod nor I find evil in this man,' Pilate said to the Jews.

'And what shulle we do wiþ þis man ⁊' Pilatus sede þo,
'I ne fflynde him wiþ non vuel dede ⁊ ne herodes neuere mo.
Goed hit is þat we him deliuary ⁊' þe gywes þo gonne alle grede, 1317

But they cried, 'If you let him go you're not Caesar's friend.'

'ʒif þou deliuerest him þou nert nouȝt ⁊' Cesares ffreond,' hi sede.

'Seggeþ me þanne,' quap Pilatus ⁊ 'ʒif he haþ mysdo ouȝt.'
'ʒif he nadde mysdo,' quap þe gywes ⁊ 'he nere nouȝt here ybrouȝt.' 1320

'Nymeþ him þanne,' quap Pilatus ⁊ 'and demeþ him þorw ȝoure lawe.'

'We nabbeþ no leue,' quap þe gywes ⁊ 'eny man to bringe of dawe.'

Pilate went again to the doom-hall and called Jesus:
'Thou art King of the Jews.'

Pilatus ȝut eftsone ⁊ in-to þe domhalle com,
And clupede Ihesu to him ⁊ er he wolde ȝiue his dom. 1324
'þou art,' he sede, 'kyng of gywes ⁊' Ihesus answerede ywis,
'Wheþer seistou þat of þi-sulf ⁊ oper opere þe sede þis ⁊'

'My kingdom,' Jesus answered, 'is not of this world.'

'I nam no gyew,' quap Pilatus ⁊ 'whi answerestou so?
Ak þin owe ffolk þe me bytok ⁊ what hastou mysdo ⁊' 1328
'My kyngdom,' quap oure lord ⁊ 'nys of þis wordle nouȝt,
ffor ʒif hit of þis wordle were ⁊ y nere nouȝt here ybrouȝt;
ffor myne owene disciples hadde raþer ⁊ ystryued ffor me some þan ich hadde þus ybeo ⁊ to þe gywes y-nome. 1332

'Then art thou a king?' 'Yea, thou sayest truly.'

'þanne artow a kyng,' he sede ⁊ 'whanne hit so is ⁊'
'ʒe, kyng ich am,' quap oure lord ⁊ 'þou ne seist nouȝt amys.
ffor þis þing ich am ycome ⁊ in-to þe wordle ywis, 1336

1312 þo hadde herodis and pilatus longe bifore be wrope. 1313 Ak]
And. 1314 beo] om. 1315 And] om. 1316 ne fynde him wiþ]
finde on him. 1317 þat] om. þo gonne alle] gonne. 1318 deliuerest
him] him delyuere. 1320 nere nouȝt here] were not to þe. 1321
Nymeþ] Takip. him] him þanne. ȝoure] pur. 1326 þat] it. opere
þe sede] ony oper seide þe. 1328 Ak] Riȝt. hastou] þou. 1330
þis] þe. here] hidir. 1332 to] þorugh. 1333 And now is not my
kingdom her &c. 1334 He seide king þou art þanne &c. 1335 ne]
om. 1336 ffor] But for.

To bere wytnesse of sobnesse ⁊ and ech man, ich segge þe,
 þat of sobnesse is ⁊ whole [*sic*] herkny now to me.
 'What is sobnesse?' quap Pilatus ⁊ myd þat word anon
 He wente aȝen out ⁊ to þe gywes ⁊ and among ham sede echon,
 'I ne ffynde in þis man ⁊ no gult of Mysdede; 1341
 Goed hit is to deliuary him' ⁊ ak þe gywes him wip-sede.
 Barraban was a Manquellere ⁊ þer-wip þat ffolk him nom.
 þer he stod myd oure lord ⁊ to affonge his dom. 1344
 ffor Pilatus wolde deliuary oure lord ⁊ he sede, 'hit is resoun
 At þis heye ffeste of Ester ⁊ to deliuary a prisoun.
 Shal hit beo Ihesus ȝoure kyng' ⁊ 'nay,' þe gywes sede, 1347
 'Ak we shulleþ deliuary barraban ⁊ and Ihesus to þe deþ lede.'
 O ⁊ Ihesus Muchel was þe schame ⁊ þat þo gywes þe wrouȝte
 Whanne hi deliuerede a Manquellere ⁊ and þe to deþe brouȝte;
 Whanne hi of whas kunne þou come ⁊ so hard vp þe were
 þat a Paynym hi wolde deliuiere ⁊ þat of þeofþe ne miȝte him
 skere. 1352

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Each man who
 is of truth will
 hear me.' 'What
 is truth?' said
 Pilate.

He wished to
 release Jesus
 but the Jews
 opposed.

'Deliver Barra-
 bas,' they cried,
 'and lead Jesus
 to death.'
 What a shame
 was that!

þo was hit ffolfuld þat David ⁊ seip þorw þi sonde,
 þat þi ffreond and nexte kunde ⁊ aȝen þe sholde stonde.
 Whanne barraban delyuered was ⁊ Pilatus sede þo, 1355
 'What shulle we do wip ȝoure kyng ⁊ schulle we lete him go?'
 'We habbeþ an lawe,' sede þe gywes ⁊ 'as riȝt is ⁊ wone,
 And þorw lawe he schal deye ⁊ ffor he makeþ him godes sone.'
 Pilatus was ffor þat word ⁊ in þe more drede ybrouȝt.
 He axede Ihesus whannes he were ⁊ ak he answerede nouȝt.
 'þou ne spext nouȝt to me,' quap Pilatus ⁊ 'nostou þat ich
 may do 1361
 þe in þe rode ȝif ich wole ⁊ and delyuere þe al-so ⁊'
 'þou nast no power in me,' quap Ihesus ⁊ 'bote hit were yȝiue
 þe;

'What shall we
 do with your
 king?' asked
 Pilate, 'Let him
 go?'
 'By our law he
 ought to die.'

Pilate asked
 Jesus whence
 he was, but he
 didn't answer
 even when
 threatened.

þer-ffore hi hadde þe more sunne ⁊ þat bytoke me to þe.' 1364
 1340 aȝen out] out aȝen. 1341 Mysdede] non mysdede. 1342 ak] but.
 1343 Manquellere] man-sleere. þat] þe. 1344 affonge] vndirfonge.
 1345 deliuary oure lord] oure lord delyvere. 1346 a] of. 1348 Ak]
 But. þe deþ] deþe. 1350 Manquellere] man-sleere. þe to deþe] to
 deþe þe. 1352 hi] þe. þat of þeofþe &c.] ⁊ not durste for hem for
 fere. 1354 nexte] þi neste. 1355 Whanne] þo. sede] axid. 1357
 sede] quod. 1358 lawe] oure lawe. makeþ] made. 1359 þat]
 þis. 1360] Ihesus] of ihesu. ak] but. 1361 þou ne] Whi.
 nostou &c.] þou wost not what I may þe do. 1362 þe in] On. 1363
 in] of. 1364 me to þe] to þe me.

The Jews forced Pilate when he sought to set Jesus free. Pat were þe gyewes þat him nome: ffor me ne dude him strengþe non,

Ak hi dude Pilatus strengþe: þat he ne let him gon.

After þat tyme pilatus: delyueri him wolde, 1367

And ffordede to wyte him ffram þe dep: ak þe gyewes nolde,

Ak sede, 'ȝif þou him delyuerest: aȝen Cesar þou art ywis, ffor who-so makeþ him kyng and non nys: aȝen Cesar he is.'

He led Jesus out to them: 'Lo, your king, treat him fairly.' 'Crucify him!' they cried.

þo ladde pilatus Ihesus out: and sette him in a chayre,

And sede to þe gyewes, 'lo: ȝoure kyng, doþ by him ffayre.'

'Do him in þe rode,' quap þe gyewes: eftsonne hi sede so. 1373

'Shal ich,' quap pilatus: 'ȝoure kyng on þe rode do?'

'No kyng we nabbeþ,' quap þe gyewes: 'bote Cesar one.'

Then Pilate washed his hands. 'I am guiltless of his blood.'

þo pilatus sey aȝen him: þe gyewes echone, 1376

He wosch his hondes and sede: 'ich am gulteles of his blode.

Nymeþ him whanne ȝe nolleþ non oper: and doþ him on þe rode.'

'ȝe, let þe wrecche,' quap þe gyewes: 'of his blod beo ydo,

'His blood be on us', said the Jews, 'and on our children.'

Vpon vs-selue among vs: and vp oure children al-so.' 1380

As who-so seiþ ȝif we mysdoþ: ne care nouȝt of oure dede,

Ak let vs and oure ofspryng: abygge oure shrewhede.

Their boon is granted, for

And hare bone is yhurð ffol wel: ffor to soþe ich wot þis,

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þat an eorþe so muche shame: of no manere ffolk þer nys, 1384

Jews are pushed here and there like dogs.

ffor hi beoþ y-harled her and þer: as houndes ffoule ynow.

þey hare owene bone beo ycome: me pinkeþ þer nis no wow.

Pilatus hem let al yworþe þo he hadde yȝiue his dom.

Judas was sorry when Jesus was condemned. 'I have sinned.'

Iudas þo he was y-dampned: gret deal to him nom. 1388

'Ich haue,' he sede, 'ysyneged: þat ich fforsake

þis man þat riȝtffol is: and his blod ȝow by-take.'

'What þer ffalleþ hit is on þi-sulf: þe giewes anon sede;

As who-so seiþ, 'loke þi-sulf: and nouȝt we þi dede.' 1392

1365 dude him] dide hem. 1366 Ak] But. 1367 Pilatus after
þat tyme delyuere him he wolde. 1368 wyte] bringe. þe dep] dep.
ak] but. 1369 Ak] þei. 1370 non nys] is not. 1371 sette
him] sat. 1372 And] As Iustice and. kyng &c.] king here. 1373 in]
on. so] also. 1375-we nabbeþ] haue we. 1376 aȝen him þe gyewes]
þe Iewis aȝens him. 1377 his blode] þis blode. 1378 Nymeþ]
Takip. nolleþ non oper] oper nelle. 1379 wrecche] wrecchis. his] þis.
1380 Vpon vs] On oure. 1381 ne care] care þe. 1382 Ak] But.
schrewhede] owen mysdede. 1384 þat on erþe of so meche schame &c.
1386 þer nis] it is. 1388 nom] he nom. 1389 þat ich] þat I haue.
1391 What fallip it to vs loke þi-selue &c. 1392 þi] of þin.

Iudas nom þe pritty pans? and caste to þe gyewes echon
ffor-whanne he solde oure lord er? and wente him out anon
In-to a gardyn and heng him-sulf? vpon an hey treo.

He cast down
the 30 pence and
went out and
hanged himself.

ȝif þe gyewes wel hem vnderstode? hi miȝte þer wreche yseo,
ffor þat he an-hong was? in þe depes stounde 1397

His wombe barst amydde? his gottes felle to grounde.

His soul could
not go out at his
mouth for he
had kissed
Jesus.

þer fforþ wente his luper soule? and at his mouþe nouȝt, 1399
ffor he þer-wip oure lord custe? myd tresoun and vuel þouȝt.

Allas, Iudas, whi noldestou? bydde merci? and habbe affonge,
And penche on his swete Mylce? ar pou pi-sulf an-honge?

Alas, Judas,
why wouldst
thou not beg
mercy?

Iudas wrappede more oure lord? myd wanhope þat he hadde
þan þo he solde him to þe depe? and þe gyewes to him ladde.

Goed ensaumples he vs ȝaf? aȝen wanhope echone. 1405

He is an ex-
ample to us
against wan-
hope. But for
this he might
have been saved.

ffor non oper þing he nas ffor-lore? bote ffor wanhope al-one,
ffor he shrof him al a-loud? to þe gyewes of his wow,

And þat mysbyȝute seluer ȝeold aȝen? and sori was y-now.

þeos þreo þinges were ynow? mannes sunne to amende, 1409

Ak ffor he hadde whanhope? al a deuclwey he wende.

Ich rede þat noman synegy so? vp hope of amendynge,

Don't let the
devil bring you
into wanhope.

ffor atte laste þe deucl wole? in wanhope him bringe. 1412

PO pilatus hadde oure lord ydampned? þe gyewes þouȝte
How hi miȝte him most shame do? ar hi him to depe
brouȝte.

The Jews
thought how
they might
mock Jesus by
treating him as
if he were a
king.

Hi þouȝte ffor he made him kyng? þat þinges þer were
ffoure

Whar-wip me sholde euerich kyng? by-ffore alle opere
honoure, 1416

Wip clop of pourpre to werye? wip noble gretynge al-so,

Wip croune on his heued and reuerence? þat me sholde him
ek do.

1393 nom] tok. to þe] þe. 1394 whanne] whiche. 1395 a

gardyn] þe ȝerd. vpon an hey] riȝt vp-on a. 1396 wel hem vnder-

stode] wiln vnderstode. miȝte þer] myȝte. 1397 þat he an-hong] þo

he hangid. 1398 amydde] amyde atoo. 1399 fforþ wente] wente

out. 1401 Allas] A. habbe affonge] vnderfonge. 1402 Mylce]

grace. þou pi-sulf an-honge] pi-selue þou dist honge. 1404 þo] whan.

1406 al-one] on. 1408 and sori was] wip sorwe. 1409 mannes]

a mannes. 1410 Ak] But. hadde] was in. al a deucl] a deucl.

1411 I rede no man synne to do &c. 1413 þouȝte] hem bi-þouȝte.

1414 him most] most. Vv. 1231-32 follow 1414. 1415 ffor] þat for.

1418 sholde him ek] schal a king.

Stripping him naked, they clothed him in purple and put a crown of thorns on his head.

'Hail, King of Jews,' they said.

They spat on him and smote him under the ear.

The mild Lamb
[p. 214]
spoke no word.

Taking off the rich clothes, they made him bear his cross toward Calvary.

For dread he sweat; the drops fell on the ground.

Aȝen þis ffore þinges þe gywes.' oper þinges þouȝte ffore
Wiþ wuche hi þouȝte oure lord.' to skorny and vnhonoure. 1420
Hi strupte him al naked ⁊ wiþ a mantel.' of pourpre him
hadde yweued;

A busmare a croune of þornes.' hi sette vpon his heued.
Sharpe and kene were þe þornes.' hi wente to þe scolle,
As who-so seiþ a ffals kyng.' we honourey wiþ þis wolle. 1424
þo he was ycloped and ycrouned.' a kneo hi ham sette.

'Hayl beo þou,' hi sede, 'kyng of gywes'.' ⁊ al a busmare him
grette.

To reuerence þat me kyng shal.' by-ffore alle opere do,
Hi spatte on him and vnder þe ere.' smyte him ofte al-so. 1428
þe strengoste þeof þat euere was.' me ne miȝte do so muche by
lawe

To smyte whanne he were ydampned.' to beo an-honge oper to-
drawe.

Euere stod þe Mylde lomb.' and þolede al hare wille.
Ne spak he nouȝt a word aȝen.' ak soffrede þe peynes ylle. 1432

PO hi hadde ydo him shame ynow.' as to a ffals kyng,
Hi nome of him þat riche cloþ.' þat arst hi in him
putte to beo his cloþinge.

His owe cloþes hi dude him on.' and ladde him wiþoute þe
toun, 1435

And made him bere his owe rode.' toward Caluarye doune.
Hi pulte him fforþ and harlede.' ak myldeliche he hit nom.
ffor gret shennesse hi him made.' bere his owene dom.

þo hi ladde him to his deþe.' ffor drede he gan to swete,
þat þe dropes ffelle a-doun.' to grounde Monye and grete. 1440

1419 þouȝte ffore] ffore.	1420 wiþ hem þei gonne oure lord a bismere to honoure.
1421 al naked] nakid.	him hadde] þei him.
1423 wente to þe] wode in-to his.	1424 a] as a. honourey wiþ þis] þe honoure.
1425 ycloped] weued.	1426 beo þou] þou. ⁊ al a busmare] a bismere þei.
1427 To] ffor. kyng] a king.	1429 do so muche] so do.
1430 whanne] him whan.	1431 stod þe] sat þat. hare wille] wol stille.
1432 Ne spak he] And spak. ak] but. þe peynes ylle] al here wille.	1433 to a].
1434 þei toke of him þe riche cloþ. þat þei gonne er him bringe.	1437 pulte] plyȝted. ak myldeliche] myldeli.
1438 ffor] In. shennesse] schenschupe. bere] to bere.	1440 grounde Monye] þe ground fele.

Gret deol made þat symple folk : as men him fforþ ladde.
 Wymmen of tendre heorte : loude woþe and gradde,
 And sywede him toward þe dep : oure lord by-turnde anon
 ' Ne weþeþ,' he sede, ' nouȝt ffor me : þei ich to deþe gon, 1444
 Ak vp ȝow-sulf weþeþ : ⁊ vp ȝoure children : ⁊ vp me namore ;
 ffor vuele dayes ham shulle come on : þat hi shulleþ drede so
 sore

Simple folk fol-
 lowed, weeping
 aloud.

' Weep for your-
 selves and your
 children,' Jesus
 said.

To bydde þe hulles ffallle ham on : ⁊ helye ham ffor drede.
 By tytus and vaspasianus : oure lord al þis sede, 1448
 ffor þe gyewes þat of-scapede supþe : to þe hulles ȝorne ffor
 ffire,

And bade þat hi on ham ffolle : þat hi miȝte beo yhud þere.
 As þe gyewes Ihesu ladde : toward Caluarye doune,
 Hi mette simon of syron : an old man wipoute þe toune. 1452
 Hi nome him and made him a-byde : of oure lord þe rode hi
 nome.

They met Simon
 of Cyrene and
 made him bear
 the cross.

Myd strengþe hi made hit simon to bere : ffor-to hi to Caluarie
 come.

ANd on þe doune of Caluarye : þe rode so heye hi piȝte
 þat in-to al þe countre aboute : yseo hure me miȝte,
 þat ech man yseye his shennesse : ⁊ as fier as me him
 seye 1457

The cross was
 set up high on
 the hill of Cal-
 vary.

Me sholde him hounschy ⁊ skorne : boþe ffer ⁊ neye.
 Laddren hi hadde on eyþer half : oure lord vp hi bere,
 And henge him heyowr þan eny þeof : ich wene þat þo
 were. 1460

They bore him
 up on ladders
 and crucified
 him with three
 nails.

þorw eyþer hond hi smyte a nayl : ⁊ þorw þe ffet þe pridde.
 On eyþer half hi hongede a þeof : and him-sulue amyddde ;

On either side a
 thief was
 hanged.

1441 Gret dol þe symple folk maden as þe men him ladde. 1442
 loude woþe and] wipen and lowde. 1443 by-turnde] him returned.
 1444 And seide weþiþ not on me &c. 1445 Ak] But. weþeþ ⁊ ⁊
 vp] on. 1446 þat euil daies schal come hem ȝit þat hem schal drede
 sore. 1447 To] And. ham on] on hem. 1448 oure lord al þis]
 al þis oure lord. 1449 gyewes þat] Iewis. to þe] ⁊ in. 1450
 þat þei hadde on hem falle þat þei hid were. 1451 As] But. 1453
 nome] helden. 1454 hit simon] him it. ffor-to] til. 1455 And
 on] An heigh up. so heye] þo. 1456 yseo hure me] men sen it.
 1457 shennesse] schenschiþe. ⁊ as] as. 1458 skorne] curse. 1459
 eyþer] euery. 1460 þan] I wene Iwis þan. þo were] was þero.
 1461 ⁊ þorw] þoru. 1462 eyþer] euery.

All was done to
shame Jews the
more.

And al hit was to shende him : ⁊ his name to bringe lowe,
ffor so muche shennesse nadde neuere man : as þe gywes beop
yknowe. 1464

To this day Jews
curse others by
the shame of
Jesus on the
rood.

Perffore ȝut to þis day : whan eny hap opere mysdo,
And wole a-corse him byterliche : and shennesse bydde also,
'As muche shennesse þou habbe' : hi seggeþ : 'as Ihesus hadde
on þe rode.'

Per-of seiþ Dauid in þe sauter : among opere wordes goede, 1468
þat oure lord is ymad in bytale : as is pulke wiþbrayd,
þat euerich shrewe to oper seiþ : whanne he is mysþayd ;

And thrice a day
they curse our
Lord and the
Christians. May
they be accursed
themselves !

And eche day hi oure lord acorseþ : in hare synagoge prie,
And ech man þat on him by-leoueþ : ⁊ on his moder Marie.
Now a-corsed ham-sulf mote hi beo : bote hi ham amende, 1473
And alle þat loueþ wel hare kunde : þat oure lord so shende.
þo hi hadde oure lord yshend : as muche as hi vnderstode,

The first word
of Jesus on the
cross was,
'Father, forgive
them.'
[p. 215]

þe ffurste word þat is ywrite : þat Ihesus spak on þe rode, 1476
He bad ffor ham þat him slowe : as þe gospel vs seiþ soþ.
'ffader,' he sede, 'fforȝif it ham : ffor hi nuteþ what hi doþ.'
þo hi hadde him ypyned ynow : and ynayled on þe rode,

His slayers
mocked him :
'If thou be
God's son come
down from the
cross.'

More busmare hi him sede : as hi by-neope stode. 1480
'Ey' : hi sede, 'what artou : artou now þere
þat godes temple wolt ffulle adoun : and in þreo dayes vp
arere ?

Bryng þi-sulf ffram þe dep : ȝif þou wolt and miȝt,
And ȝif þou art godes sone : adoun of þe rode alizt.' 1484

But this was the
devil's sugges-
tion.

Ak þat hi sede þorw þe deuēl : ffor þe deuēl hit nolde
þat he were ded, ffor he wiste wel : þat his dep him schende
sholde.

One of the
thieves also
mocked, but the
other rebuked
him.

þat on peof þat by Ihesus was anhonge : skornede him also.
'þou ne douteſt nouȝt god,' quap þat oper : 'þat þus art to
depe ydo. 1488

1463 ⁊ his name &c.] and ek to owre wowe. 1464 shennesse] schen-
schipe. neuere] no. beop] be ȝit. 1465 hap opere] hap. 1466
And wole a-corse him] þei wil curse. bydde] bidde him. 1467 þe
rode] rode. 1469 þat bi oure lord is mad a tale as is þat upbraid.
1470 þat] As. 1471 eche] euery. hi oure lord] oure lord þei. 1473
mote hi] þei. 1474 shende] dide schende. 1479 hadde him
ypyned] him hadde bete. ynayled] nailid him. 1481 what artou]
where art þou now. 1482 in þreo dayes vp] þe þridde day. 1483 ffram]
now fro. þe dep] dep. 1484 And ȝif] ȝif. adoun of] of. 1485 Ak
þat] But. deuēl] fende. hit nolde] nolde. 1487 was anhonge] heng.

- Gulteles he is and we gulty'.' þo gan he sore to syke.
 'Lord,' he sede, 'þenk on me.' whanne þou comest to þi riche.'
 'Myd me,' quap Ihesus, 'þou worst.' in paradys ȝut þis day.'
 'Lo.' quap þe oþer, 'he saueþ oþere.' ak him-sulf he ne
 may.' 1492
 ffour kniȝtes þat maystres were.' to do him on þe rode,
 Þo hi ne miȝte do him namore shame.' as hi vnderstode,
 His cloþes hi delde a ffour.' and lot caste ywis
 What ech of ham sholde habbe.' and ech nyme his. 1496
 Þo was his curtel odde.' and ysowed myd no þrede,
 Ak wip þwonges of leper.' þe kniȝtes þer-by sede,
 'We nollep nouȝt his curtel kerue.' þey he beo odde yffalle,
 Ak caste we lot who shal hit haue.' on among vs alle.' 1500
 Þo was hit stolffuld þat Dauid.' in his sauter seyde,
 Þat hi delde his cloþes.' and vp his cloþes þe lot leyde.
 So hi dude pulke tyme.' whanne hi delde ffaste
 And his curtel lefte hol.' and þer-vpe lot hi caste. 1504
 By his rode his moder stod.' þat com þider þer-to,
 And Marie Cleophe.' his moder suster al-so,
 And Marie Magdaleyne.' and þo Ihesu ysey
 His moder and his disciple.' seint Ion stonde þer ney 1508
 Þat he louede wel, as he sede.' to his moder he spak anon,
 'Womman, lo her þi sone.' þo he sede to seint Ion,
 'Lo.' her þi moder.' and seint Ion.' pulke tyme ywis
 In his power vnderffeng.' þe queene of heuene blis. 1512
 Oure lady as hure owe sone.' he bytok seint Ion,
 As who-so seyþ, 'beo þou hure sone.' ffor on me naþ ȝeo non.'
 We ne ffyndeþ nouȝt ywrite.' þat oure lady in al hure sore
 Spak ouȝt bote made deol ynow.' ne miȝte no womman more. 1516

'Thou shalt be with me in paradise to-day,' said Jesus.

Four master knights cast lots for Jesus' clothes.

Then was fulfilled what David said in the psalter.

Jesus saw his mother and John by the cross and said, 'Woman, lo, thy son; John, lo, thy mother.'

It is not written that Our Lady spoke a word.

1489 to syke] siche. 1491 worst] schal be. þis day] to day. 1492 ak] but. 1493 ffour] þe ffour. 1494 ne] om. as hi] of þat þei. 1496 What ech of ham] þat eche man. ech nyme] þoru lott eche man. 1497 and ysowed] isowid. 1498 Ak] But. þe kniȝtes þer-by] a knyȝt þerfore. 1499 his] þis. kerue] kerue atoo. he ben] it. 1500 Ak caste we] But caste. on among] ȝ whiche of. 1501 his] þe. 1502 his] oure lordis. þe] om. Variants from this point are supplied from MS. Harl. 2277. 1504 þer-vpe lot hi] lot þervppe. 1505 Bi ihesus Rode stod his moder þat cam þerto. 1508 stonde þer] þat stod hire. 1509 wel as] þo. he spak] om. 1510 he sede] seide he. 1511 pulke] as pulke. 1512 queene of heuene] heȝe quene of. 1514 who-so] ho ffor on] on. 1516 ynow] om.

Hure sorwe passede alle sorwe : ffor ȝeo nolde hadde confort
non ; 1517

pat swerd ȝeo ffelde at hure heorte : as hure byhet seint
simeon.

Jesus spoke to
them no more.

Oure lord ne spak to ham namore : pat we owher rede,
Ak þo he was ouercome ney : and his lymes ney alle dede, 1520

Jesus thirsted
and the Jews
offered vinegar
and gall.

Wip dreori chere wel pytouslich : ' a-þurst ich am,' he sede.

þe gywes mengde vynegre ⁊ galle : ⁊ to drinke hit him bede.

þer-of he nom his mouþ ffol : ak yn ne dronk he hit nouȝt.

O : Ihesus : to al þin oþer wo : whuch drinke þe was ybrouȝt !
ffor þer nas non of þine lymes wipoute : pat deore vs nap

[p. 216]

Of all his limbs
only the tongue
and mouth had
been left un-
tormented.

ybouȝt 1525

Bote þi tonge and þi mouþ : pat þe gywes nadde outsouȝt.

þin heued ffor-wounded of þe croune : pat hi hadde þer-on ydo ;

Cheken and eren al fforbete : wip boffettes were al-so ; 1528

þi body al by-neope fforþ : wip skourges hardde y-bete ;

ffet and honden þer-on ofte ysmyte : wip þreo nayles grete.

þe ne byleuede no lyme vnpyned : bote þi tonge al-one,

Wip whan þou toke þi moder : to him pat ne knew no wom-
mannes mone. 1532

Ak ȝut nolde þe lupere gywes : pat hit were wipoute pyne,

Whanne hi þe ȝeue byter galle : wip vinegre atte ffyne.

Lord pat vs þus deore a-bouȝtest : ⁊ nouȝt onlich wip þin heued

Ak wel bytere wip ech lyme : pat þer nas non byleued, 1536

þi deþ was deþ of alle deþes : pat to eny man euere com,

ffor as þe bok vs seiþ : hit passede alle Martyrdom.

þo þe gywes brouȝte oure lord : galle and vynegre al-so,

Wel pytousliche oure lord sede : ' now hit is ydo.' 1540

When they gave
him the gall and
vinegar Jesus
said, ' Now it is
done.'

1517 sorwe sorwe] deol deoles. ffor ȝeo nolde hadde] heo
nolde. 1518 as hure byhet seint] þat bihet hire. 1520 ouercome
ney] neȝ ouercome. ney alle] alle. 1521 wel] ⁊. 1522 mengde
vynegre ⁊ galle] galle ⁊ vynegre mengde. to drink hit] drinke. 1523
yn ne dronk he] he ne sualȝ. 1525 ffor] Ac. 1526 þe gywes]
gywes. outsouȝt] þurfsouȝt. 1527 of] wip. 1528 Cheken] his cheoken.
fforbete] forboned. 1530 þer-on ofte] harde. 1531 þe] þer.
al-one] one. 1532 Wip] Þurf. to him &c.] to seint Iohne. 1533
lupere] schrewe. 1534 þe] him. wip vynegre atte] ymend wip
vynegre. 1535 Oure lord pat ous bouȝtest deore nouȝt &c. 1537
to eny man euere] eni man ouer. 1538 vs seiþ] seiþ ⁊ soþ hit is.
alle] om.

þo by-gonne tenebres ⁊ þat in-to al þe eorþe were ydon
In þe sixte tyd of þe day ⁊ þat me clupeþ noon.
Tenebres beoþ derkhede ⁊ ffor þer nas namore liȝt
þorw-out al myddel-eorþe ⁊ bote as hit were Mydniȝt. 1544

Then began
tenebres; the
earth was in
darkness from
the sixth hour
until the ninth.

Hit bygan at non ⁊ and ffor-to þe nyȝe tyde ylaste.
þat wolde beo Myd-ouer-non ⁊ þo were þe gywes a-gaste.
þe sonne was blak hit was eclyps ⁊ aȝen his kunde ynow,
Ne myȝte þe sonne shyne no leng ⁊ þo he to depe drow. 1548

The sun was in
eclipse contrary
to nature.

Lutel wonder me þinkeþ hit was ⁊ þey ȝeo ne miȝte shyne
Whanne þe Mayster of sonne ⁊ Mone ⁊ polede her such pyne.
þe Mone wiþdrow hure liȝt al-so ⁊ and non on eorþe sende,
ffor ȝeo nolde shyne on ham ⁊ þat oure lord so ffoule shende.

The moon also
refused to shine.

Mony grete clerkes þat were ⁊ in al oþer londe 1553
Y-seye, and ne miȝte of þe eclyps ⁊ no resoun vnderstonde;
And of oure lord hi nuste nouȝt ⁊ and þorw clergie hi þouȝte
þat lupere men on eorþe here ⁊ oure lord to depe brouȝte, 1556
And vnderstode of godes kunde ⁊ þat he was fflesch ⁊ bon,
And þer-þorw suppe ycristned were ⁊ and seint Denys was þat
on,

Clerks in other
lands seeing the
eclipse under-
stood by 'cler-
gy' of God's in-
carnation and
death, and were
afterwards bap-
tized—among
them St. Denis
of Athens.

ffor seint Denys þulke tyme ⁊ in Attenes was,
And ysey þat eclyps aȝen kunde ⁊ him wondrede of þat cas 1560
And noþing he nuste of god ⁊ ffor cristene nas he nouȝt,
And ȝut þorw pure clergie ⁊ þis word com in his þouȝt;
Oþer god poleþ deþ in fflesch ⁊ oþer þe wordles kunde
Is ybrouȝt vp þe doun ⁊ and þis word was in his munde 1564
And þorw þat word þer-afterward ⁊ as seint Poul by him com
And þorw pure resoun of clergie ⁊ he affeng cristendom.
At þe nyȝe tyd of þe day ⁊ oure lord gan wepe ⁊ grede
ffor gret anguisse of deþes þrowe ⁊ ⁊ þeos wordes sede, 1568

At the ninth
hour Jesus in
anguish cried
out,

1541 þat in-to &c.] ⁊ wer her an vrþe don. 1543 tenebres] þe tenebres.
ffor þer] þer. 1544 bote as] þan. 1545 non] ouer non. 1546
þat] þo. Myd-ouer-non] ouernon. gywes] schrewen. 1547 his]
om. 1548 þo] þan. 1549 was] was þo. 1550 polede
her] an vrþe polede. 1551 Mone] sonne. sende] ne sende. 1552
so ffoule] an vrþe. 1553 al] om. 1554 of] on. 1555 þorw] ȝut
þurf. 1556 on eorþe here] her an vrþe. 1558 suppe ycristned were]
were suppe icristned. 1562 pure] his. 1563 þe wordles] wordles.
1564 vp þe doun] vp ⁊ doun. his munde] munde. 1566 clergie] his
clergie. 1567 At] Ac in. wepe] erie. 1568 deþes] þe deþes. H
transposes 1569 and 1570.

'My God, why
hast thou for-
saken me?'

'My god, whi hastou me fforsake' : po pe gost sholde out go.

'My god, whi hastou me fforsake' : eftson he sede so.

fforsake he held him ffor no man : ffor alle his woundes strongge.

[p. 217] Ne turnde to him bote o peof : pat by him was an-honge, 1572

And pat greuede him sorere pan his dep : and per-flore pis he sede.

'Hely, hely,'
this was in
Hebrew.

'Hely : Hely' : as 3e in his passioun : in holy chirche hurep rede.

pat was a langage of Ebreu : pat among pe gyewes is,

And to segge pat ich er sede : an englich hit is pis : 1576

'My god whi hastou me fforsake' : and po hi gonne anon to crie.

The Romans
said, 'He calls
for Elye.'

pe Romeynes pat hurde pis : and sede 'he clupeþ Elye.

Loke we whar elye come : to bringe him ffram pe depe.'

'Father,' said
Jesus, 'I betake
my soul into thy
hand,' and with
this he died.

'My ffader,' Ihesus sede po : myd wel softe breþe, 1580

'Ich by-take my gost in pin hond' : and po closede his eye,

And his heued heng a-down : and myd pat word gan to deye.

O : Ihesu : who may pis yhure : wipoute wop of heorte ?

Hard is the
heart that will
not weep at
this.

Hard is pe heorte pat pis hureþ : bote he wepe ⁊ smerte, 1584

pat þou sholdest ffor vs so bytere wepe : and so bytere grede,

And ffor vs lete pi swete lif : allas pe wrecchede !

The earth
quaked, trees
and stones burst
in two, clothes
in the temple
rent asunder,
and coffins broke
open.

pe eorpe ne miȝte bere pi dep : pat is ping wipoute rede,

pat 3eo grisliche ne quakede : as who-so seiþ ffor drede. 1588

Allas, man, wher is pin heorte : how miȝtow hure pis

Bote þou quake ffor sorwe : gret deal of pe hit is.

ffor treos ne stones ne polede nouȝt : pat his heorte breke atwo,

Aboute pe stede in mony places : pat hi ne to-borste al-so. 1592

Clopes pat in pe temple were : to-cloue al-so a-mydd.

Dede mennes prowes to-borste ek : as merci ffor to bydde.

O : Ihesu : hard was pi dep : whanne harde treos ⁊ stones

To-borste po pin heorte to-brak : and prowes of Mannes bones.

1571 alle his] his. 1572 o] pe. 1573 sorere] more. and
per-flore] perfore. 1574 in his passioun &c.] hureþ in pe passioun rede.
1575 a] pe. 1576 And to] To. pat ich er sede] as ich seide er. hit
is] al. 1577 hi gonne anon to] anon gan. 1578 and sede] seide.
1581 pin] his. po closede] bigan to closi. 1582 to deye] deye. 1584
Hard] Hardi. pis] hit. 1585 ffor vs so bytere wepe] so bitere wepe
for ous. 1586 swete] om. pe] oure. 1587 Ne miȝte pe vrþe &c.
1588 who-so] ho. 1591 ffor treos] Treo. 1592 stede] place. places]
stede. 1594 ffor to] to. 1595 hard] strong. 1596 of] mid.

Man, how miȝtȝou pis yhure? pat pin heorte ne brekep anon?
 Allas, Man, which is pin heorte? hardour þan eny ston? 1598
 Þi lord deyep in strong pyne? and in so strong depe
 ffor þe? and þou pat art his lyme? sory art vnnepe. 1600
 Sonne and Mone ⁊ heuene liȝt? hare vertues gonne quenche,
 And þou ffor whan he poledē al? vnnepe wolt þer-on þenche.

Man, is thy
heart harder
than a stone?

A prophete spak of oure lord? longe byffore þis dede,
 And þow oure lordes mouþ? þeose wordes he sede:
 'A flox him may flynde a stey? and a turtle a nest
 al-so, 1605

As the prophet
said, a fox has
his hole and a
turtle a nest,
but Jesus had on
earth no place to
rest his head.

Whar-ynne hi sitte mowe ⁊ walwy? ⁊ hare ese do,
 Ak Ihesu nys on eorpe nouȝt? so muche goed byleued
 Wher-vp he mowe enes? reste his wery heued? 1608
 O? Ihesu? swete þing? were þou so pouere þo
 Nere þou kyng of alle kynges? whoder was þi goed y-do?
 Þe nas so muche goed ygraunted? wher-vpe þou miȝttest deye
 Ne a wrecche tof of þe eorpe? bote henge in þe eyr heye; 1612
 Ne þi sely lymes? nere ygraunted to þe na-mo
 pat eny miȝte oþer helpe? how miȝte þer beo more wo?
 Þine armes were wyde ystreȝt? þine hondes y-nayled ffaſte,
 pat þou ne miȝttest in al þi wo? to þin heued ones caſte. 1616
 Ne þou ne miȝttest bere vp þin heued? so strong was þi
 dep,

Thou diedst
hanging in the
air: no limb
could help
another.

Ne whar-vp hit lenye? wel harde þou lete þi breþ.
 Þei hit miȝte to þi ſhuldres come? þi croune of þornes þo
 þer-on wolde deope wade? and þat hadde ȝut ybeo more wo.
 How miȝte so pouere dep? eny man here y-seo? 1621
 Byter and strong and eke pouere? Ihesu yhered þou beo.
 No wonder hit nas þei þe sonne? in derkhede were ydo,
 Whanne treos and harde ſtones? and clopes to-borſte al-so. 1624

[p. 218]

How could any
man ſee ſo
wretched a
death?

1599 deyep] deide. in ſo] in. 1600 pat art] ert. lyme] hyne. ſory
 art] ⁊ ert ſori. 1601 þe ſonne liȝt ⁊ heuene briȝt &c. 1602 al] al þat.
 1603 ſpak of] of. 1604 And] As. þeose wordes he] ⁊ þuſe wordes.
 1605 flox] oxe. 1606 hi ſitte mowe] ſitte. ⁊ hare &c.] ⁊ þeron reſte
 þerto. 1607 Ak] And. 1609 pouere] riche. 1610 whoder] wher.
 1611 þe nas nouȝt ileued ſo muche god wher-on &c. 1612 þe eorpe]
 hard vrp. bote henge] vp in. heye] an heye. 1613 to þe na-mo]
 þo no-þe-mo. 1614 oþer helpe] helpe oþer. þer] om. Omits 1615-
 1620. 1621 here] om. 1622 Ihesu] louerd. 1623 in derk-
 hede were] were in durbede. 1624 al-so] atuo.

Many Jews were
converted by
the miracles
they saw there.

The law forbade
leaving bodies
over Easter, so
they came to
take down Jesus
and the thieves.

They bade the
blind Longinus
shove a spear to
Jesus' heart.
With the blood
he wiped his
eyes and had his
sight.

The blood from
Jesus' side be-
tokens his life
and the water
baptism.

Three sorts of
blood are in the
body.—Jesus
shed them all.

Pat gyewes þat him slowe ⁊ þo hi seye al þis cas,
 3ut hi sede 'to soþe her ⁊ þis man riȝtffol was.'
 Monye þat in þe place stode ⁊ ybaptized þo were
 ffor miracles þat hi seye ⁊ and al-so ffor ffere. 1628

þo was hare lawe ȝif eny man ⁊ were to deþe ybrouȝt
 Aboute þe ffeste of Ester ⁊ þat he by-leuede þer nouȝt,
 Ak adoun ffor þe heye ffeste ⁊ of þe rode were ydo.
 Nyme hi wolde oure lord adoun ⁊ and þe þeoues al-so ; 1632
 Ak to beo siker þat hi were dede ⁊ þe þeoues pyes hi breke.
 Ak þo hi to oure lord come ; more shame hi him by-speke.
 Longeus a blynd kniȝt þer stod ⁊ and a sper hi him caste,
 And sette hit to oure lordes riȝt syde ⁊ and bede him sheoue
 ffaste. 1636

þat sper he sheof to his heorte ⁊ þer com out water ⁊ blod.
 His eyen þer-wip he wyped ⁊ and [hadde] his siȝte wel goed.
 Merçi he cride oure lord ⁊ and let him baptyze ywis,
 And supþe he was ymartred ⁊ and heȝ halwe in heuene is. 1640
 What by-toknede water and blod ⁊ þat of Ihesus syde com ?
 þat blod by-toknede him-sulf ⁊ and þat water cristendom,
 þat wipoute þe swete blod ⁊ þat he shadde on þe treo
 And wipoute þe water of cristendom ⁊ ne may no man y-saued
 beo. 1644

Swete Ihesu strong was þi dep ⁊ and wel narwe þe gywes
 ham pouȝte,
 Whanne hi þe rote of þi swete lif ⁊ at pin heorte grounde
 souȝte.

þat is þe welle of mannes lif ⁊ ham was loþ to by-leue ouȝt.
 Hi ne byleuede on þe a drope of blod ⁊ þat nas al out ybrouȝt.
 A man naþ bote þreo manere blod ⁊ þat on is al wipoute 1649
 Bytwene flesch and ffel ⁊ and þat oper in þe veynes a-boute ;
 þe þridde is þe pur heorte blod ⁊ þat is þe more of lyue.
 Alle þeos, Ihesu, þou shaddest ⁊ þorw pine woundes ffyue. 1652

1625 þat] þe. 1626 to soþe her þis man] þis man her for soþe. 1627
 þo were] were. 1633 hi] he. þe þeoues] his. breke] to-breke.
 1634 by-speke] speke. 1635 and a] a. 1636 hit] him. 1638
 his] hadde. 1640 heȝ] god. 1641 by-toknede] bitokneþ. 1642
 and] om. 1645 was þi] strong was þis. and] om. ham] om. 1646
 rote] more. 1647 mannes] godes. ham was loþ] wel loþ hem was.
 1648 on þe] vneþe. ybrouȝt] isoȝt. 1649 A] And. 1650 flesch
 and ffel] þe flesch ⁊ þe fel. 1651 is þe more] more is.

pat was bytwene ffele & flesch : clene was out ybrouzt
 po pou were ybete wiþ scourges : pere by-leuede nouzt.
 pat blod is ner þe lif : pat in þe veynes is
 Clene þorw þi ffeet and honden : ybrouzt hit was out ywis 1656
 And þorw þe crowne of þornes ek : pat in þin heued deope wode.
 Alle pulke of þe veynes : clene souzte out þat blode,
 ffor þer nys no veyne in a mannes body : pat ne takeþ on ende,
 To þe hondes oper to þe ffeet : oper to þe heued doþ wende. 1660
 Whanne þe endes were so ypyned : in gret anguisse & sore,
 Clene þorn out þe veynes blod : pat þer byleuede namore.
 þer ne mihte on þe, swete þing : namore blod beo yffounde.
 Bote hit were þat swete lyues drope : at þin heorte grounde.
 3ut nolde þe gywes by-leue : as hi nome hare red, 1665
 And made sheoue þe sper þer-to : to loken if þou were ded.
 Swete Ihesu : muche was þe loue : pat þou cuddest pere.
 þou woldest þat we were clene ybrouzt, þat no deffaute nere,
 Wiþ þe lest drope of þi blod : þou mihttest vs haue ybrouzt, 1669
 And þou ffor vs 3eue euerich drope : pat þer byleuede nouzt.
 Namore shame þan hi dude : ne mihte þe gywes þe do.
 Bytwene twey þeoues hi þe an-honge : and in a fful stede al-so,
 ffor vp þe doune of Caluarie : whanne eny þeow were 1673
 ynome ffor þeowte and ydampned : an-honge he was pere,
 And an-honge vpon þe rode : as þou, Ihesus, were al-so.
 Noþing nas vylour þan þe rode : ar þou were þer-on ydo. 1676
 þanne was þe stede vyl : and þe dom and þe treo
 þat þou were on to deþe ybrouzt : Ihesu y-hered þou beo.
 þo þe gywes to soþe yseye : þat oure lord was ded
 ffor þe ffeete hi þouzte to nyme him adoun : as ich habbe er y-
 sed. 1680

The scourging,
 the nails, the
 thorns drained
 all the blood but
 the sweet life-
 drops at the
 heart's ground.

Even this the
 [p. 219]
 Jews wouldn't
 leave.

With the least
 drop of thy
 blood thou
 mightest have
 bought us.

The Jews could
 not have done
 more shame to
 thee, hung be-
 tween thieves,
 in the foul place
 Calvary, upon a
 vile rood.

1653 þat was] þe furste. ffele & flesch] flesch & fel. 1654 ybete]
 iranced. 1655 þat] þe. 1656 hit was] was. 1657 crowne of
 þornes] þornen crowne. þin] þe. 1658 of] out of. clene souzte out
 þat] wel clene sozte þe. 1659 no veyne in a] veyne non in. takeþ]
 tilþ þe. 1661 so ypyned.] y-opened þer. 1662 byleuede] ne com
 out. 1663 on þe swete þing] suete þing. 1664 þat] þe. 1665 by-leue]
 þat bileoue. hare red] red. 1666 And made sheoue] þo me schof. to
 loken if] for loken whar. 1668 þu woldest we were isaued &c. 1669
 vs haue] habbe. 1670 ffor vs 3eue] 3eue for ous. þer] þer ne.
 1671 shame] vylt. 1672 þeoues] gywes. a fful] wylde. 1673
 doune] hul. 1675 Ihesus were] were Ihesu. 1676 þer-on] on.
 1677 þanne] þat. 1678 ybrouzt] ido. 1679 þo] ffor. 1680
 to nyme him] him nyme. ich habbe] hi hadde.

Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus took the body of Jesus, wrapped it with spices in fair linen and laid it in a high and fair sepulchre.

AN old kniȝt þat louede oure lord wel. Iosep of Aramathe, Ak he ne durste þer-of beo yknowe. ffor drede of a-spye,

He bad of pilatus Ihesus body. ⁊ he hit ȝaf him anon. Þo nom he wip him Nichodemus. and to þe rode hi gonne gon, And to a sepulcre þat body hi bere. and nome hit adoun of þe rode, 1685

And nome Myrre and encens. and monye oper spices goode, And þat he rotye ne sholde. to his swete flesch hit bounde, And suppe in a ffayr lynnene clop. pure whyt hi hit wounde, And leyde hit in a sepulcre. þe ffayreste þat þer was ney, 1689 þer nas non so ffayr a-boute. ne by þreo spanne so hey. And fforto oure lordes body was. in pur lynnene clop y-wounde, And wipoute eche manere deȝ. hit was ffurst y-ffounde 1692 Þorw seint Siluestre þe pope. þat oure lordes flesch al-so Shal beo ysacred vp þe weued. ⁊ in pur lynnene clop y-do.

This is why the Host is covered with pure linen.

The three Marys followed and saw where our Lord was laid.

PO me buriede oure swete lord. in þe sepulcre so heye. þreo wymmen þat him louede. sywede him euere neye, 1696

Marie Magdaleyn. and Marie Iacabee Oure lady suster and anoper ek. Marie Salomee. After hi sstode and byhulde. how hi leyde oure lord þere. Monye opere byhulde ek. ak none so ney nere. 1700 Þo hi seye whar he was yleyd. and how he was ywounde, Hi ȝeode aboute oynement. ffor-to þe sonne ȝeode to grounde, And diȝte hit stilleliche. þat noman hit ne sey ffor to smerye oure lord wip. ȝif hi miȝte come him so ney. Þo þis oynement were redy. hi nolde ham nouȝt shede. 1705 Þan saterday as lawe was. reste hi moste neode,

They went to fetch ointment to anoint the body but meantime the sun set,

1681 louede our lord wel] hadde oure louerd longe iloued. 1682 durste] þerfte. drede] doute. 1683 bad of] bad. hit ȝaf him] ȝaf hit him. 1684 hi gonne] gan. 1685 a] þe. þat bodi hi] þe bodi. hit] om. 1686 monye] om. 1687 hit] hi hit. 1688 a ffayr] clene. hit] him. wounde] bounde. 1689 þer was] was. 1690 þer] And þer. 1691 fforto] for. 1692 And] ⁊ clene. 1693 þorw] ⁊ þurf. þat oure] oure. 1696 louede] louede wel. 1699 After] Afur. 1700 none so ney] so meni non þer. 1701 how] whar-on. 1702 ȝeode] wende. aboute] aboute here. ȝeode] wende. 1703 diȝte hit] ȝarkedede hem. 1704 so ney] neȝ. 1705 were redy] ȝare were. 1706 reste hi moste] to rest hi hadde.

ffor me ne dude no work pulke day : po was hit pe lawe
ffram ffryday ffor to Sone-day : ffro workes ham wip-drawe.
Pe gyewes anon pe Saterdag : nome ham to rede
pat holy body ffor to wytye : pat me ne sholde hit away lede.
To pilatus hi come anon : wardeynes hi him bede.

and it was the
law to do no
work from Fri-
day evening un-
til Sunday.

The Jews came
to Pilate and
asked for guards
at the sepulchre

'Lord,' hi sede, 'we vnderstondep : pat pulke traytour sede
pat he wolde arise ffram depe : and 3if hit so dop byffalle
pat his disciples his body stele : hi wollep segge so alle.'
Pilatus het pat body to wytie : ffoure kni3tes per wende
To pe sepulcre wel y-armed : as pilatus ham sende.

[p. 220]

lest the disciples
should steal the
body. He sent
four armed
knights.

per hi sete nigt and day : pat swete body to wite,
pat me ne stele hit nou3t away : pat me mi3te vnder3ite.

IN pe daweny[n]ge pe soneday : as pe day gan springe,
As me wakep oure lord aros : ffor al hare pretynge.
He aros po ffram depe to lyue : pe kni3tes slepe
ffaste,

Sunday at dawn
our Lord arose
while the guards
slept fast.

pe eorpe quakede ouer al : and al pat lond sore agaste.
Mony dede men pat were yroted : arise wip him al-so,—
Pulke pat hare prowes breke : po he was to depe ydo
Arisen and 3eode among pat ffolk : into al pat lond a-boute,
And some lyuede after longe : po hadde pe gyewes doute.
Al hit was oure lordes wille : pat hi were to witnesse ybrou3t,
And pat honourede his vprysynge : pat hi ne ofsoke hit
nou3t.

The earth
quaked and the
dead, whose
coffins were
broken open,
arose and walked
about.

po oure lord aros he ne openede : his prow nopng per-ffore
Namore pan his moder wombe : po he was ybore,
Ak hol byleuede his prow : and nopng per-of vndo.
Hol by-leuede his moder wombe : po he was ybore al-so.
pe holy ffeste of Ester come3 : after leynte anon,
As oure lord aros ffram depe : to lyue in fflesch ⁊ bon ;

Our Lord arose
without opening
his coffin, as he
was born with-
out opening his
mother's womb.

1707 po was hit] as ful bi. 1708 Hi po3te him smyrie pe soneday as
pe dai gan dawe. 1712 Louerd we vnderstondep hi seide what pulke
&c. 1713 arise ffram depe and] from depe arise. so dop] dop so.
1714 pat] If. 1715 pat body to] pe bodi. per] for3. 1718 pat
me ne scholde no3t stele awei bote hi hit vnder3ite. 1720 wakep]
wene3. 1722 and al pat lond sore] pat al pe lond. 1725 al pat]
al pe. 1726 after longe] longe 3erafter. 1727 Al] As. to witnesse]
witnis3e. 1728 And pat] ⁊ pat hi. pat hi ne ofsoke] ⁊ ne forsoke.
1729 openede] vpenede no3t. nopng] om. 1730 po] whan. 1731
prow] drou3. per-of] om. 1734 in] bo3e.

We must explain on what day Jesus rose and at what time of the year.

He died on Friday at full moon which fell that year on Lady Day.

So we keep Good Friday at the full moon or the next Friday after it.

Adam was created on Friday and on Sunday ate the apple.

5,000 years later our Lord came to pay for

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Adam's sin.

And ffor he deyde ⁊ in þat holy leyntes daye
 We shulleþ his flesch affonge ⁊ in þat day him to paye. 1736
 Now comeþ in diuerse stedes Ester ⁊ þerffore we mote
 lere
 What day oure lord aros ⁊ and in whuche tyme of þe ȝere.
 [Wel wiste oure louerd tofore his dep ⁊ al þat was to done. 1738a
 Ordeyne he wolde al his dede ⁊ bi cours of sonne ⁊ mone. b
 In þe heȝe fulle he wolde deye ⁊ ⁊ þat hit fridai were, c
 In oure leuedi dai in leynte ⁊ hit ful in pulke ȝere.] d
 So as he deyde on oure lady day ⁊ and þer-after sone anon
 To lyue he aros þe þridde day ⁊ boþe in flesch ⁊ bon, 1740
 And ffor he deyde at þe heye ffolle ⁊ in a fryday also
 We mote oure lordes passioun ⁊ sette after boþe two,
 So þat we nyme oure goede fryday ⁊ at þe heye ffolle ywis,
 Oper þe nexte fryday an eue ⁊ þat þer-after is; 1744
 And ffor hit syweþ boþe two ⁊ þe mone as ȝe seop
 And þe dayes ek of þe wyke ⁊ þat in diuerse stedes beop,
 Me mot neode eche ȝer ⁊ as þe cours wole ffallē,
 In diuerse stedes come ⁊ as suche ffestes alle. 1748
 Al such þing þat sholde beo ⁊ was in oure lordes þouȝt
 þat tyme þat he made ⁊ al þe wordle of nouȝt;
 ffor þulke day a seuene-niȝt ⁊ þat þulke day is
 Euene by-flore oure lord ⁊ made heuene and eorþe ywis. 1752
 þe sixte day þer-afterward ⁊ he made man al-so.
 þe seueneþe day he hadde reste ⁊ of al þat he hadde er ydo.
 þe eyteþe day Adam et ⁊ þe appel of þe treo.
 Allas, lute was þe while ⁊ þat he wolde in ioȝe beo ! 1756
 Subþe longe þer-afterward ⁊ ȝe ffyue þousand ȝer ⁊ more,
 Oure lord þouȝte in mankyne ⁊ to do ham mylce ⁊ ore,
 To a-liȝte ffor vs here ⁊ and ffor vs to beo ybore,
 And to abygge Adames sunne ⁊ whar-þorw we were y-lore 1760

1735 We makeþ ous clene þer aȝen ⁊ ech god man as he may. 1736
 We shulleþ þat we mowe. affonge &c.] afonge þat aros þulke day. 1737
 in diuerse stedes Ester] Ester in diuerses stedes. we] me. 1738 What]
 Which. and in] ⁊. of] in. Supplies 1738 a-d. 1739 So þat he
 deide in oure dai boþe in flesch ⁊ bon. 1740 day &c.] dai þer-after sone
 anon. 1741 ⁊ in a] ⁊. 1742 sette after] after. 1747 Me] Hit.
 1748 as] ⁊. 1753 þer-afterward] afterward. 1754 er ydo] ido.
 1759 to beo] beo. 1760 to] forto. whar-þorw] for whan.

pulke sulue day adam dude ⁊ þe sunne wip-oute ⁊ rizte,
 And on [o]ure lady day in leynte ⁊ in his moder he a-lizte.
 Now het he longe þer-by-ffore ⁊ Moyses by olde dawe
 Vp þe hulle of synay ⁊ þo he made þe olde lawe 1764
 þat me sholde eche 3er ⁊ pulke tyme sacrifice do
 Of a lomb þat clene were ⁊ and þat at þe ffolle heye do.
 Al þat bytokneþ þat he wolde ⁊ ffor vs ymartred beo
 [In þe he3 fulle as pulke tyme ⁊ ⁊ bugge ous on þe treo. 1767a
 Nou moste þis bi ech resoun ⁊ nede beo ido] 1767b
 In þe heye ffolle of þe Mone ⁊ and in ffryday al-so. 1768
 And in oure lady day ek ⁊ þe sunne was ffurst ywrouzt
 pulke day by eche resoun ⁊ we moste neode beo ybouzt.
 þer-ffore he abod alle þing ⁊ ar he were to depe ydo,
 Oure lady day and ek ffryday ⁊ and þe heye ffolle þer-to. 1772
 As hit ffele in pulke 3er ⁊ þat ffryday hit was
 And eke þe heye ffolle and oure lady day ⁊ as god 3af þat cas ;
 Ak now wipynne ffele 3er ⁊ wel selde hit ffallē þis 1775
 þe nexte ffryday we nymeþ þer-ffore ⁊ þat after þe heye ffolle is,
 And holdeþ þanne oure goede ffryday ⁊ and þe þridde day anon
 þer-after we nymeþ oure ester day ⁊ as 3e witeþ wel echon,
 And oure lordes ffelech vnderffongeþ ⁊ wip his holy blode
 þat he 3af to stronge dep ⁊ ffor vs on þe rode. 1780
 Now god ffor his holy blod ⁊ þat ffor vs was ynome
 Lete vs his ffelech a-ffonge ⁊ þat we to heuene come.
 þe Rouysouns comeþ neuere ⁊ by-ffore seint Markes day ;
 þer-ffore we wollep of ham telle ⁊ in þe bygunnyng of May.
 Marie Magdaleyn ⁊ and Marie Iacabee 1785
 Oure lady suster and þe oper ek ⁊ Marie Salomee
 Aboute souzte oynement ⁊ as ich sede 3ou er,
 ffor to come and smerye ⁊ þer-wip oure lord þer. 1788

Passover in the old law was at the full moon.

So the time of the Passion fell on Lady Day, on Friday, and at the full moon.

The third day afterward we hold our Easter and receive our Lord's body.

Roveisons never come before St. Mark's day ; we'll tell of them later.
The three Marys sought ointments as I said before.

1761 sulue day] dai silf þat. dude &c.] dude sunne mid vnri3te. 1762
 And on] As in. 1763 het he] he het. 1766 were &c.] were ⁊ atte
 he3 fulle also. 1767 Al þat bytokneþ] Hit bitoknede. 1768 and
 in] ⁊. 1769 lady day] leuedi. was ffurst] was. 1770 pulke] In
 pulke. we] hit. 1771 alle þing] pulke þreo. 1772 lady day] leuedi.
 þer-to] also. 1774 þe heye] he3. þat] þe. 1775 Ak] ⁊. 1776
 heye ffolle] fulle. 1778 3e witeþ wel] we witeþ. 1781 blod] bodi.
 1782 vs] ous so. 1783 comeþ] ne comeþ. 1784 we] om. 1786
 þe] om. 1787 Brouzte softe oynement &c. sede 3ou] 3ou seide. 1788
 þer-wip oure lord] oure louerd þerwip.

Sunday at dawn
Mary Magdalene
and her fellows
came to the
sepulchre.

PE nigt after þe Saterdag ⁊ as in þe dawenyng
þe Soneday as in þe Ester ⁊ as þe sonne bygan to
springe,

þo Marie Magdaleyne ⁊ and þe opere al-so
Come to seo þe sepulcre ⁊ hare smeryng to do; 1792

Ak þe eorpe-quakyng was ⁊ ymad wip gret soun,

An angel lighted
down and over-
turned the
stone.

And oure lordes aungel ⁊ ffram heuene alizte a-doun

And to þe sepulcre he wende ⁊ and ouer-turnde þe ston

þat was þe lyd and þer-vppe ⁊ sat a-doun anon. 1796

His loking and his fface was ⁊ as red so eny ffur is,

His face was
red as fire, his
clothing white
as snow.

And as liztyng and his cloþinge ⁊ whyt so snow ywis.

The guards in
fear fell down as
dead.

Hi þat kepte þe sepulcre ⁊ hadde so gret drede

Of þis angel þat hi seye ⁊ þat hi leye rizt as dede. 1800

ffor hi seye þe aungel so grislich ⁊ wel sore hi were a-drad.

And þe cloþ þat Ihesus was on ywounde ⁊ hi seye ek al to-sprad,

And lygge wipoute al a-brod ⁊ and suppe hi arise

Then they ran
and told their
masters,

And ȝorne and tolde hare souereynes ⁊ how sore hi were agrise.

þer nas non so hey of ham ⁊ þat sore agast nas, 1805

As hit seiþ in anoper stede ⁊ where me spekeþ of þis cas.

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who paid them
to say that the
disciples stole
the body—as the
Jews still de-
clare,

þe Maystres ȝeue þe kniztes mede ⁊ þat hi sholde þis wel hele,

And tolde into al þat lond ⁊ þat his disciples him stele. 1808

So seggeþ þe shrewes ȝut ⁊ þat among vs her beoþ

þat euere goþ a-bakward ⁊ and þe leng þe worse y-peoþ.

Marie Magdaleyne ⁊ and hure ffelawes tweye

Mary and her
fellows were
afraid to go near
but stood and
watched.

To seo oure lord as ich sede ⁊ dude ham in þe weye. 1812

So sore hi dradde þat hi nuste ⁊ how lit fferde þere,

And a-waytede ffer and to ⁊ and ne durste go no nere,

Ak ȝeode abak and stode stille ⁊ and suppe ȝeode ffor softe.

Ofte hi ȝeode softe fforþ ⁊ and suppe wip-drow ham ofte. 1816

1790 as in] in. as þe sonne] þe sonne-lizt. 1791 þo] þis. þe] þis.
1793 Ak] Lo. 1794 lordes] louerd an. ffram heuene alizte] sende
anon. 1795 And] þat. he] om. 1796 þat was] z. 1797 so
eny] as. 1798 whyt so] so whit as. 1799 kepte] wiste. gret]
moche. 1800 Of þis angel þat hi leye longe as hi were dede. 1801
þe aungel so] an angel. wel] om. were a-drad] hem dradde. 1802 al]
om. 1803 wipoute] þeroute. 1805 agast] agrise. 1806 where me
spekeþ] as hit telþ. 1807 sholde] om. 1808 into al þat lond] al
þe lond al aboute. 1809 vs her] hem. 1810 goþ] hi goþ. and þe
&c.] z euere þe worse hi beoþ. 1812 ich] hi. 1814 And] þat hi.
durste go no nere] þerfte go forþ for fere. *Transposes* 1815 and 1816.
1815 Ak] z. stille] hem stille. ffor] forþ. 1816 ham] om.

Do sede hi ham bytwene : ' who may away bringe
 þe ston þat is at þe dore : ' of his burynge ?'
 Do by-heolde hi piderward : and yseye anon
 þe lyd yturned vp þe doun : and hit was a wel gret ston. 1820
 Now was hit a manere hows : þat god was ynne ydo,
 Ygraued wyde in a roche : deop and muche per-to,
 þat is ycleped a Monument : in þe est half þe dore is,
 And þanne wipynne þulke hous : in þe north ende ywis, 1824
 Oure lordes sepulcre was : and of þulke sulfe ston
 þer nas non so hey aboute : by þreo spanne ⁊ on.
 Do þis wymmen come : into þe Monument þere,
 Hi seye an aungel sitte : a ffayr 3ong man as hit were, 1828
 Ycloped in white clothes : þo dradde hi in hare pouzt.
 Do sede þe aungel to ham : ' ne drede 3ow rzt nouzt.
 3e secheþ Ihesu of Nazareth : þat on þe rode was y-do.
 ffram deþ he is arise : he nys nouzt her : lo, 1832
 Her is þe stede þat hi him leyde : ak goþ anon þer-to
 And seggeþ his disciples ffore : and Peter al-so
 þat he wole wende to Galilee : and by-ffore 3ow beo,
 As he him-sulf 3ow sede : þer 3e shulleþ him y-seo.' 1836
 Now is þer a demaunde : whi þe aungel a-nempnede þere
 Seint Peter þus by name : and non oper of alle his ffere,
 Bote ffor he hadde so by-ffore : oure lord fforsake prie
 He dradde of þe disciples : to come in hare companye, 1840
 ffor him pouzte he nas nouzt worþ : ⁊ al-so ffor shame,
 And þat he ne come in wanhope : þe aungel nempnede his
 name.
 And whi was hit godes wille : whanne he louede him so
 þat he rap̃er þan a-noþer man : such dede sholde do 1844
 Bote ffor he hadde yordeyned : þat he sholde beo
 An heued of holy chirche : and þanne he sholde yseo
 ' Who shall
 bring away the
 stone ? ' Then
 they saw the lid
 overturned.
 The sepulchre
 was carved in
 rock, like a
 house within.
 The women saw
 an angel sitting
 as a fair young
 man.
 ' Fear not, Jesus
 is risen,' he
 said, ' Go tell his
 disciples and
 Peter they'll
 find him in
 Galilee.'
 He named Peter
 lest he should
 fall into wan-
 hope.
 God willed that
 Peter should
 deny him for he
 was to be head
 of the holy
 church.

1817 who] he. 1820 þat lid iwend vp ⁊ doun ⁊ was &c. 1821
 a manere] as a maner. 1822 wyde] deope. muche] wyd. 1823
 a] om. in þe est] an eche. 1824 ende] side. 1825 and of] as.
 1826 non] om. ⁊ on] non. 1827 into þe] to þis. 1828 a ffayr] a.
 1829 dradde hi] wende. 1831 of Nazareth] Nazare. 1832 deþ]
 deþe to lyue. 1833 þat] as. ak goþ anon] goþ non. 1835 beo]
 þer beo. 1836 þer 3e] 3e. y-seo] þer iseo. 1838 alle] om. ffere]
 ifere. 1839 so by-ffore] so. 1842 And] om. his] him bi. 1844
 rap̃er] whatloker. 1845 ffor] þat.

So he became an
example of God's
mercy.

How mylde god was to him : þey he him fforsoke-
And as mylde to beo to sunffol men : ⁊ ensauple þerto toke.

Mary Magdalene
ran and told
Peter and John
that Jesus
wasn't in the

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sepulchre. She
doubted what
the angel had
said.

Peter and John
ran to the
'monument'.

M Arie Magdaleyne : erliche was y-went 1849
In þe derkhede þe Soneday : to þe Monument,
And ysey as ich arst sede : þat lyd away ydo. 1851
þeo 3orn and tolde peter ffore : and seint Ion al so.

'Hi habbeþ,' þeo sede, 'my lord : ffram þe sepulcre ybrouzt.
I not whare hi him habbeþ ydo : ffor ich him habbe ysouzt.'

þut þey þe aungel hure sede er : syker nas þeo nouzt
þat he was ffram depe arise : ak doutede in hure pouzt. 1856

þo þeode seint Peter out : and seint Ion al-so,

And come to þe Monument : ak ar hi come þerto

Hi 3orne boþe þiderward : ak seint Ion was raper þer.

He was so swift þat to-ffore : to þe Monument he com er, 1860

And as he a-buyede a-dounward : þe shetes he sey,

Ak napeles he þeode nouzt yn : he ne dorste come so ney.

Entering, Peter
saw the clothes
lying.

þo com Peter afterward : and þeode yn anon þer-to,

And y-sey þe shetes al to-sprad : and þe cloþ al-so 1864

þat a-boute his heued was ydo : lygge in an oþer stede.

John also went
in timidly.

þo wente seint Ion yn : as a man þat was in gret drede.

He com as ich sede er : to þe Monument by-ffore,

They believed
that the body
of Jesus had
been borne
away.

And ysey and þut by-leouede wel : þat he was a-vey ybore 1868

ffor hi ne vnderstode nouzt þe bok : ne were nouzt so wise

þat oure lord neode moste : ffram depe to lyue a-rise.

þo wente þe disciples hom : þer as hi wonede by-ffore,

And wende euere þat oure lord : were away ybore. 1872

Mary waited
weeping; she
wished to learn
more. She saw
two angels.

M Arie nolde nouzt away : ar þeo wuste more.

Vnder þe Monument þeo stod : wiþoute wepynge sore,

And as þeo stoupede a-doun : þeo by-heold þer ney

Wiþynne þe Monument : twey aungeles þeo sey 1876

In white cloþes sitte : þat on at þe heued þer,

1848 to beo] beo. ensauple þerto] þer of 3eme. 1850 þe Sone-
day] þan sonedai. 1851 arst sede] seide er. 1852 þeo] ⁊. peter]

om. 1853 my lord ffram þe sepulcre] fram þe sepulcre mi louerd.

1855 sede er] hadde iseid. 1858 come] þeode. ak] ⁊. 1859 ak]

z. raper] om. 1860 He was . . . þat &c.] So suyft he was before z.

he com] com. 1861 And as] As. a-dounward] adoun. 1862

þeode] ne þeode. dorste come] com nozt. 1863 anon] om. 1864

al to-sprad] isprad. 1866 as a &c.] þat so longe hadde abide. 1867

He] þat. 1868 and þut] ⁊. 1871 þer as] as. 1874 wepynge]

z wep.

- And þe oper at þe flet : as þe body of Ihesu lay er.
 Þo sede þe aungeles to hure : ' womman, whi wepestou so ?'
 Marie sede þo to ham : ' ffor hi habbeþ y-do
 And ybore my lord away : y not whoder ywis.'
 3eo by-turnede hure anon : þo 3eo hadde y-sed þis
 And ysey Ihesu stonde : ak 3eo nuste noþing
 þat hit oure lord was : þo sede to hure þe heye kyng,
 ' Whi wepestou so, womman : whan sechestou here ?'
 Marie wende þo by him : þat he were a gardynere.
 ' Lord,' 3eo sede, ' 3if þou hast : him away ybore,
 Whar þou him hast yleyd : do sey me ffore,
 þat ich him mowe pannes bere ' : þo sede Ihesu þis,
 ' Marie : ' and wip þat word : 3eo byturnde and sede y-wis,
 ' Rabony : ' þat Mayster : an Englisch was to telle.
 ' Ne touche me nouzt,' quap Ihesu : ' ne noþing of my felle,
 ffor y nam nouzt 3ut ysteye an hey : to my ffader ywis,
 Ak go þou to my breperen : anon and seye ham þis,
 þat ich wende vp to my ffader : and to 3oure ffader al-so,
 And to him þat my god is : and 3oure god eke perto.'
 þo com Marie Magdaleyne : ⁊ to þe disciples þis dede
 Tolde þat 3eo oure lord sey : and al þat he to hure sede.
 þis was lo : þe ffurste tyme : þat Ihesu þe swete kyng
 Shewede him to eorþlich man : after his vprysyng.
 As an Ester day he him schewede : ffurst to a womman
 As to Marie Magdaleyne : raþer þan to eny oper man,
 And gret honour he cudde : to womman in þis cas,
 And to alle synffolle : ffor 3eo so synffol was,
 We ne dorre beo in no wanhope : þat synffolle beoþ
 Whanne Ihesus wole to vs wende : as we here y-seoþ ;
- 1878 And þe oper] þoper. þe body of Ihesu lay] ihesus was ileid. 1879
 womman &c.] whi wepestou womman so. 1880 þo to] to. 1881 y
 not whoder] ⁊ y not. 1883 ak] as. 1884 to hure &c.] oure
 kyng. 1885 Womman whi wepestou so what &c. 1886 þo
 by] bi. 1888 do] ich bidde. 1889 sede Ihesu] ihesus seide.
 1891 an Englisch was] is an englisch. 1892 me] þu. ne noþing] nojt.
 1894 go þou] go. 1896 my god is] is mi god. eke perto] also. 1898
 oure lord sey] sez oure louerd. to hure] hire. 1899 lo þe] þe. kyng]
 þing. 1901 As an esterday ⁊ whatlokere he schowede him to womman.
 1902 raþer] om. oper] om. 1903 ⁊ gret honour to womman he cudde
 in þis cas. 1904 3eo so] heo. 1905 dorre] þorue. þat] we þat
 1906 to] þus to.
- They said, 'Why weepst thou ?'
 'Because,' she answered, 'they have borne away my lord.' Turning round, she saw Jesus, but thought he was a gardener.
 Jesus said, 'Mary,' and she knew him.
 'Touch me not,' he said, 'Go tell my brethren I wend to my father and yours.'
 Thus Jesus' first appearance after he arose was to a woman.
 [p. 224]
 He showed this honour to her because she had been a sinner.

Women are true
enough when
they turn to
good.

Peter and John
went back from
the sepulchre,
but Mary re-
mained there
weeping.

She loved Jesus
as much as she
loved the devil
before.

No man is so
true in love as
is a woman who
turns to good.
Why do we
blame women
in songs and in
books?

Men give gifts
to foolish women
to do lechery,
but what man
would refuse a
fair woman who
besought him to
do folly?

And here we mowe ensauple ⁊ yseo ⁊ who-so him vnderstode
pat wymmen beoþ truwe ynow ⁊ whare hi turneþ to goede, 1908
ffor oure lordes disciples ⁊ pat he louede wel echon,
And his nexte kynnes-men ⁊ as seint Iame and seint Ion,
In his sepulcre lete him beo ⁊ þey hi dreori were of pouzte,
And lete him beo as fireondles ⁊ þo Marie him souzte. 1912

Ak þut now peter and seint Ion ⁊ atte sepulcre were
Wente aȝen and lete al beo ⁊ ak ȝeo byleuede þere,
Sore wepyng in care ynow ⁊ and nolde þennes wende,
ffor al þe wo þat ȝeo hadde er ⁊ ar ȝeo wuste of him som ende.
pat was on of þe creatures ⁊ pat euere in eorþe was 1917

pat mest loue oure lord cudde ⁊ as me pinkeþ by þis cas ;
And as muche as ȝeo louede er ⁊ þe deucl and wrecchede
As muche ȝeo louede Ihesu þo ⁊ me pinkeþ by þis dede. 1920
ȝeo one cudde him more loue ⁊ þan alle þat were ybore,
His disciples oper his kyn ⁊ as ich haue ysed by-ffore.

Per-ffore ich vnderstonde þus ⁊ pat so truwe loue atten ende
Nys non as of womman ⁊ þer ȝeo wole to goede wende. 1924
And how hit is þanne of wymmen ⁊ pat me blameþ ham so

In songes and in rymes ⁊ and in bokes eke þerto,
To segge þat hi ffalse beoþ ⁊ and vuele to leoue,
ffykel and luper and vtruwe ⁊ many man to greue ? 1928
Whar is eny womman ⁊ who-so wole segge soþ

pat byddeþ men by ham lygge ⁊ ak al day men ham doþ
And ȝiueþ ek to ffol wymmen ⁊ to don hare lecherye
Seluer, gold and oper mede ⁊ to don hare ffolye ? 1932
Whar woldestou so stable man ffynde ⁊ pat ȝif a ffayr womman
come

Genty l and hende ⁊ and by-souzte him of ffolye ylome,
pat he nolde turne his pouzt ⁊ to do ffolye atte ffyne ?
ffor ȝif he ne dude me wolde him holde ⁊ worpy to lygge in
schryne ! 1936

1907 him] him wel. 1909 wel] so wel. 1912 as] al. 1914
Lete al beo ⁊ wende aȝe &c. 1917 þat] þis. 1919 And as] As.
1921 more loue] more. 1922 his] al his. ich haue ysed] ich seide.
1923 þus] þis. 1925 hit is] is. 1926 eke] om. 1928 luper and
vtruwe] lipere. 1929 is] seo ȝe. 1930 ak al day men] as men al
day. 1931 ek to] ek. to] for. 1932 gold and] ⁊. to don hare]
allas þe. 1933 woldestou] wostou. ffynde þat] om. a ffayr] a. 1934
by-souzte him] him bi-sozte. 1935 to do] to. 1936 ffor ȝif] ffor.
lygge] beo.

What is þanne þe womman worþ : as þe meste del beop
þat ne beop ouercome wiþ no byddyng : as we al day y-seop ?
3eo ne shal no seint beo yholde : ak al stille hit shal beo.

Every day we
see women who
will yield to no
bidding.

What manere is þis ? y ne kan : no resoun her-on yseo. 1940

Ak 3if me vnder3ut of a womman : þat 3eo ones mysgo,
3eo worþ more yblamed : þan a man : ffor a þousand syde ⁊ mo ;
And 3if a womman haþ a sclaunder : elles þei hit beo,

But a woman
who goes amiss
is blamed 1,000
times as much
as a man.

Ech man 3eo were loþ to wedde : as we mowe al day y-seo ; 1944

And þey by an hondred wymmen : a man hadde y-leye ⁊ mo,

And þe ffoulest lechour beo : þat may on eorþe go,

The foulest
lecher if he be
rich may marry

Me ne seop no man þe later : him 3iue a wyf ywis,

Knigt ne Baroun ne oper Man : 3if þat he riche is, 1948

[p. 225]
a pure maid. Is
this right?

Ne beo þat mayde neuere so clene : ne þat neuere dude amys,

Ne hure spouse neuere so vnclene : allas what resoun is þis ?

Nay þat hit conne y-seo : ak let hit non oper beo y-hote

Bote rybaudye and luper dede : and ffoles wilde rote. 1952

3if lecherye is so luper dede : and so luper to do

If lechery be so
evil a thing, is
the one more to
blame who does
the deed, or the
one who suffers
it?

As þe gospel vs seiþ : and oure ynwhit al-so,

Wheper is he þanne more to blame : þat þe dede doþ so

Oper þulke þat ne doþ hit nouzt : bote soffreþ what men hure
do ? 1956

Wel 3e wyteþ þat Man hit is : þat þe dede deþ.

Who-so seiþ oper hit nys nouzt riht : he lyep þorw-out his tep.

Whanne men [sitteþ] in hare hayt : vp hare ale-benche, 1959

When men sit
on the ale-beuch
their game is to
slander some
silly wench.

And habbeþ þe pycher ⁊ þe coppe : ⁊ þe botyler to schenche,

þanne is hare iangle ⁊ hare game : to deme som sely wenche,

þat god 3eue þat some of ham mihte : in þe ale-ffat a-drenche !

þis bosteres and lyeres : as hi sitteþ by hare ffere,

Bringeþ wymmen in sclaunder : ich wolle segge in what
manere. 1964

1938 al day] ofte. 1939 no seint beo] beo no seint. ak al] ac. 1940

What resoun is in þisse manere dai þat hit conne iseo. 1941 of a] a.

1942 ffor a] a. syde] siþe. 1943 elles] alles. 1946 ffoulest] vileste. 1947

þe] þat þe. 1949 neuere] nouzt. ne þat neuere dude] ⁊ ne dude neuere.

1950 neuere so vnclene] nouzt so foul. allas &c.] awei what resoun. 1951

ak let &c.] þat hote as ich hote. 1952 luper dede] liþerhede. 1954

oure ynwhit al-so] þe boc ⁊ oure louerd þerto. 1955 þanne] om. 1956

hit] hire. what] þat. 1958 oper] om. riht] so. 1959 in hare

hayt] sitteþ at here hait. 1960 þe botyler] botiller. 1961 iangle] game.

game] gale. 1962 some of ham] summe. 1964 what] whiche.

If a clerk or
priest sin, every
ribald says,
'Lo, what life
these clergy
live! These
cursed clerks
ought to be to-
drawn'

Ak 3if a clerk oper a preost : hap in his ffolye
A symple pufpe y-don : oper a ffol lecherie,
panne comeþ fforþ ech rybaud : in his rybaudye
And seip, 'lo! þis clerkes : what lif hi wollep drye! 1968
Lo : þulke stal an oxen and dude such ffolye,
And þulke by pat Mannes wyf : lay in holerye.
þeos acorsede clerkes : suche hi beoþ echon.
Hi were worpi beo to-drawe : þat per nere a-lyue nouzt
on. 1972

So it fares by
women when it
is reported that
one has done
amiss.

Also hit fiareþ by wymmen : among lupere tounge ywis,
Whanne hi hureþ þey hit selde beo : þat on doþ amys.
þorw bysokne of a ffol womman : ffor elles per wolde
ffewe.

panne in his rybaudye : wole segge many a shrewe, 1976
'Suxtou þulke womman : þat nom þulke man at eue,
þat makeþ hure so goed and queynte : who : scholde eny
leoue ?'

Why may not
each bear his
own guilt?
Don't blame all
on account of
one.

Whi ne mot on bere his gult : and anoþer his ?
Bote 3if on mysdoþ : hi beoþ yblamed alle ywis. 1980
ffor þe loue of Ihesu crist : 3e þat conne resoun,
Ne blameþ noþing þe gultes : bote 3e seo enchesoun.

God give shame
to those who
blame good
women. More
mildness and
goodness is not
in any creature
on earth—as we
may see by
Mary Magda-
lene.

And whanne 3e habbeþ al ysed : god 3iue ham alle schame
þat wipoute enchesoun : eny goed womman blame, 1984
ffor more Myldhede and goednesse : in non eorþlich best
nys,

Ne more Milce ⁊ truwenesse : þan in a goed womman is.
3e seop Marie Magdaleyne : oure lord souzte al-one
þo þe Apostles þat wip him were : lete him lygge echone. 1988
Whare was a-pertour loue : seggeþ þat 3e ne lye,
Whar was eny stablour : þan was þe holy Marie ?

1965 Ak] As. 1966 a ffoul] a. 1969 ffolye] felonie. 1970
þat] a. holerye] lecherie. 1972 worpi] to. 1973 ywis] echon.
1974 doþ amys] amis don. 1975 womman] man. 1976 panne
wole in his ribaudie &c. a] om. 1977 man at eue] reue. 1978 who
&c.] daiþat hire ileoue. 1980 hi &c.] blame alle iwis. 1981 conne]
cunne sum. 1982 noþing þe] 3e noþing. 1984 eny goed] ⁊ gultes
eni. 1985 and] ne. 1986 ⁊] ne. in a goed] in. 1989 was]
þer were per. loue] bileue. 1990 Whar was] Was þer. was þe] þe.

Marie ȝorn ffor to telle: þe disciples ffore.
 þe Marien ȝeo mette, hure ffeławes: þat ȝeo hadde
 arst ylore. 1992
 ȝeo tolde ham how ȝeo Ihesus sey: hi nuste what to
 do ffor blis,

Mary told her
 fellows what
 Jesus had said.

Ak ȝorne ffor to telle: alle þe disciples þis.
 As hi ȝorne alle þiderward: þis tydyng to lede,
 Ihesus com to ham in þe wey: 'hayl beo ȝee,' he sede. 1996
 þe wymmen him nome by þe ffeet: 'byleueþ þat,' quap he.
 'Ne dredeþ nouȝt ffor ich hit am: whar-of wondry ȝe?
 Ak gop and seggeþ myne disciples: þat hi wende to Galilee,
 ffor as ich ham habbe ytold: þer hi shulleþ yseo me.' 2000
 To his disciples hi wende fforþ: and ffounde ham wepe sore,
 ffor hi nuste whar Ihesus was: me ne sey him þer namore.
 Þis wymmen how hi him seye: tolde ham anon þe tydyng.
 þe disciples ne leouede hit nouȝt: ak helde hit al lesyng, 2004
 Ak seint Peter ȝorn him fforþ: to þe sepulchre anon,
 ffor he louede euere oure lord mest: he ⁊ seint Ion;
 And þo oure lord him schewede: as on Ester day
 To him þer in priuete: þat non oper hit ne say. 2008
 þer-ffore hit nys nouȝt ywrite: whar he com him to,
 Ne noþing þat he to him sede: bote þat hit was so.
 þe ffurste tyme þat was: þat Ihesus to him com
 After þat he him er fforsoke: and such deol to him nom, 2012
 ȝut he com raper to him: þei he him hadde fforsake,
 þan to eny oper disciple: ensaumple þer-of we mowe take.
 þat we ne beo in wanhope: what of sunne by-tydde
 ffor as prest he is to forȝiue: as man is ffor to bydde. 2016

As they ran to
 tell the disciples
 [p. 226]

Jesus greeted
 them in the
 way.

They embraced
 his feet. 'Cease
 that,' he said,
 'go tell my
 disciples to
 wend to Galilee.'

They found the
 disciples weep-
 ing, but they
 wouldn't believe
 the story.

Peter ran to the
 sepulchre and
 Jesus appeared
 to him alone,
 but it is not
 written where,
 or what he said.

Of oure lordes disciples: pulke sulue tweye
 ȝeode as an Ester day: to a castel by þe weye
 þat was ffram Ierusalem: as ich vnderstonde
 Aboute seune myle: and an half: of þat londe 2020

He appeared to
 Peter earlier
 than to the rest
 so that he might
 not be in wan-
 hope.

Two disciples
 went on Easter
 day to the castle
 of Emmaus.

1991 þe] þis holi. 1992 Marien] Marie þo. 1993 Ihesus sey]
 sez oure louerd. to do] do. 1994 ȝorne] vrne echone. alle þe] þe.
 1995 þis] þe. 1999 gop and] gop. þat] fore þat. wende] go. 2000
 ytold] iseid. þer &c.] þer ȝe schulle me iseo. 2002 me] ne. him þer]
 him. 2004 hit al] hit. 2005 him] om. 2007 And þo] ⁊. 2008
 him] hem. 2009 him] hem. 2010 him] hem. 2011 þat was]
 was. him] hem. 2013 raper] whatloker. 2014 þer-of we] we.
 2015 of] so of. 2017 sulue] day. 2020 of] as of.

While they
talked on the
way Jesus joined
them as a pil-
grim, but they
knew him not.

þat Emaus ycluped was ⁊ and þeos disciples two
Bytwene ham speke as hi ȝeode ⁊ of al þat was ydo
Of alle þinges þat by-felle ⁊ and þe while hi speke so,
Oure lord him-sulf ⁊ as a pilgrim þer ȝeode þo, 2024
And com ney ham ⁊ ȝeode fforþ ⁊ myd ham in þe weye
Ak hare eyen ne knewe him nouȝt ⁊ ffor in derkhede hi were
beye.

‘What speak
ye,’ he said, ‘as
ye go so sorrow-
fully?’

þo sede Ihesus to ham ⁊ ‘þeos wordes ⁊ what beoþ hi ⁊
þat ȝe spekeþ ȝou bytwene ⁊ as ȝe goþ in anuy 2028
Aboute and sori beoþ ⁊ þe on answerede ywis

Cleophas an-
swered, ‘Know-
est thou not the
things done in
Jerusalem?’

þat was ycluped cleophas ⁊ and sede him þis,
‘þou in Ierusalem ⁊ vncouþ art as we yseoþ
And ne knowest nouȝt þinges ⁊ þat þere ydo beoþ 2032
As now in þis dayes ⁊ þo sede Ihesus ywis,

‘What things?’

‘What þinges ⁊ and þe oþer sede þis,
Of Ihesu Nazaren ⁊ prophete and man al-so
þat was queynte in dede ⁊ work ⁊ by-flore god ydo, 2036
And eke by-flore al þat ffolk ⁊ and how hi him toke þo
þe hexte princes and oure preostes ⁊ in strong pyne ⁊ wo.

‘About Ihesu
the prophet
who was seized
by the princes
and priests, con-
demned and
crucified.

Hi him nome by niȝte ⁊ and fforþ ladde hare wille to do,
And we stode þer and by-heolde ⁊ ffor myd him we were þo.
Hi dampnede him to deþe ⁊ and dude him on þe Rode, 2041

[p. 227]

We hoped he
was to redeem
Israel. This was
three days ago,
and now some of
our women say
his body isn't in
the tomb.

And to soþe we hadde hope ⁊ and among vs vnderstode
þat he sholde Israel ⁊ ȝut bygge out of wo,
And now vp alle þeos þinges ⁊ hit is þus ygo; 2044
And to-day is þe þridde day ⁊ þat ydo was al þis dede;
And some wymmen of oure ⁊ vs habbeþ ybrouȝt in drede,
þat by-flore þe liȝt of day ⁊ at his buryeles were,
And come þo hi ne ffounde ⁊ his body nouȝt þere, 2048

2023 þe while] as. 2024 ⁊ of him-silue enquerede ihesus him-silue
lo. 2025 And com] Com. 2026 Ak hare eyen] ⁊ þe eȝen þat.
ffor] om. hi] om. 2027 what beoþ hi] þat beoþ heye. 2028 ȝou]
nou. anuy] in þe weye. 2029 þe on answerede] þo ansuereþ on.
2030 þat was ycluped] Was name was. sede him] him seide. 2031 in]
one in. as we] we. 2032 þinges] þulke þinges. þere ydo] ido þer.
2034 and] beoþ þat. 2035 prophete] þat was prophete. 2036 þat
was] Was. dede ⁊ work] work ⁊ in dede. 2037 him toke] toke him.
2038 þe heȝiste preostes of oure princes ⁊ in moche wo. Omits 2039,
2040. 2041 Hi dampnede] Damned. 2042 among vs] we.
2043 ȝut bygge] bringe. 2044 þus] nou nou. 2045 was] is.
2046 of oure] eft. 2047 þe liȝt] liȝt. 2048 nouȝt] ligge.

And sede þat hi seye þer : of aungeles a sizte,
 þat sede þat he was a-lyue : þorw godes miȝte ;
 And þo ȝeode some of oure fflawes : as he was ybured ded,
 And ffounde þer al-so : as þe wymmen hadde er y-sed, 2052
 Ak him-sulf ne ffounde hi nouȝt : oure lord þo sede,
 ' O : ȝe ffooles and of heorte : to byleoue wel late-rede !
 In alle pinges þat þe prophetes : yspeke habbeþ ywis
 Ne moste nouȝt Ihesu crist : neode polye al þis, 2056
 And suppe þer-after : in-to his riche gon ?'
 þo by-gan he at Moyses : and þe prophetes echon,
 And tolde ham what it was to segge : ⁊ to vnderstonde in dede
 Of alle pinges ywrite : þat of him hi alle sede, 2060
 And hi come ney þe castel : þat hi wolde to gon,
 And Ihesus made semblaunt : as he wolde þennes anon,
 And hi dude him strengþe : lengour to by-leue,
 And sede, ' sire, wone myd vs : ffor hit is al-mest eue, 2064
 And þe day is now y-buyed away' : ⁊ oure lord wiþ-ynne com,
 And sat a-doun to þe mete : wiþ ham ⁊ bred nom,
 And blessedde hit and brak ek : and to hem þer-of ȝaf þo.
 Hare eyen openede ⁊ him knewe : hi nuste what to do, 2068
 And he anon sodeynliche : out of hare sizte gan gon.
 Hi nuste wher he by-com : ak bytwene ham hi sede anon,
 ' Nas oure heorte wiþynne vs : of him al brennynge
 þe while he spak wiþ vs : and holy writ vs shewynge, 2072
 And þe prophetes dedes openede : whi ne knewe we him þo ?'
 Hi arise vp þulke tyme : and to Ierusalem gonne go,
 And ffounde þer þe euleuene Apostles : alle in one place
 Y-gadered to-gadere : to hure some tydyngeþ þorw godes grace.
 But that angels told them he is alive.
 ' O fools,' Jesus said, 'and slow to believe what the prophets have spoken.'
 Then he explained to them Moses and the prophets.
 Then they came nigh the castle and would not let Jesus go on.
 ' Sir, remain with us.'
 Jesus sat at meat with them and took bread and blessed it, and they knew him, but suddenly he disappeared.
 ' Didn't our hearts burn', they said, 'while he spoke with us ?'
 Going to Jerusalem, they found the eleven disciples and told them.

2050 þat] ⁊. a-lyue] ȝut alyue. godes] his. 2051 as] þer. 2052
 al-so] riȝt so. er y-sed] ised. 2053 Ak] ⁊. 2054 O ȝe] O. wel
 late-rede] latrede. 2056 al þis] þis. 2057 And] ⁊ so. þer-after]
 afterward. 2059 tolde] seide. was] what. 2060 hi alle] were.
 2061 And hi] Hi. 2062 as] þat. þennes] fur. 2063 lengour] leng.
 2064 sire] louerd. 2065 now] nou non. 2066 ⁊ mid hem adoun
 atte mete sat &c. 2067 ȝaf þo] bed bo. 2068 ⁊ here eȝen openede
 anon hi knewen him anon þo. 2070 ak bytwene] bituene. 2071
 Nas] Nas nouȝt. of him &c.] for loue of him ihat. 2072 and holy &c.]
 in þe wei þat was of him irad. 2073 And þe prophetes dedes] ⁊ iwrite
 he oua. 2074 gonne go] wende bo. 2075 þer þe] þe. alle &c.]
 in a place þere. 2076 Ygadered alle togadere ⁊ hi ek þat wiþ hem were.

Hi tolde ham þat oure lord ⁊ to soþe aros þer 2077
 ffram deþe to lyue ⁊ and shewede him ⁊ to seint peter er.
 He tolde ham ek what hi dude ⁊ by þe weye ⁊ sede
 How hi him ffurst knewe ⁊ þow brekyng of brede. 2080

The same even-
 ing all the disci-
 ples except
 Thomas were
 met in a strong
 close with gates
 locked.

Þis was lo on Ester day ⁊ and þe tweye disciples were
 Seint luk and Cleophas ⁊ to whan he shewede him þere.
 In-to a strong clos hi were ywend ⁊ þe disciples echone
 To wite ham ffram þe drede of gywes ⁊ bote seint Thomas one.
 At þulke sulue day ⁊ in þe euenyng atte laste, 2085

[p. 228]

As an Ester day at niȝt ⁊ as þe ȝates were alle ffaste
 And yloke ⁊ ffor þe disciples ⁊ were þo in gret fere
 Of þe gywes, to-gadere ⁊ þer-flore in a place hi were, 2088

Jesus appeared
 and said, 'Peace
 be with you.'
 They thought it
 was a ghost.

Mydde his disciples ⁊ Ihesus stod and sede,
 'Pays beo myd ȝou; ich hit am ⁊ nabbeþ none drede.'
 Þe disciples stode distourbed ⁊ and adrad in hare
 þouȝt;

Hi wende hit were a gost ⁊ and a man nouȝt. 2092

'Why fear ye?'
 he said, 'see my
 hands and feet.
 A ghost has not
 flesh or bone.'

'Whi beo ȝe,' quap oure lord ⁊ 'distourbed now so?
 And suche þouȝtes beoþ on hey ⁊ in ȝoure heortes ydo?
 Yseoþ myne flet and hondes ⁊ þat ich hit am my-sulf al-one.
 Gropeþ and yseoþ al-so ⁊ þat noþer of fflesch ne of bone 2096
 A gost naþ noþing as ȝe seoþ ⁊ þat ich haue y-wis.'

Still they
 doubted. 'Have
 you any food?'
 Jesus asked.
 They gave him
 fish and honey-
 comb, and he
 ate.

He schewede ham his flet and honden ⁊ þo he hadde y-sed þis,
 ȝut hi ne leouede hit nouȝt ⁊ ak wondrede in hare þouȝt
 ffor ioye of þis. oure lord sede ⁊ 'habbe ȝe now ouȝt 2100
 Eny þing þat may beo y-ete' ⁊ hi bode him anon ywis
 Som of a ffisch yrosted ⁊ and of an hony-comb myd þis,
 And þo he hadde y-ete ⁊ by-fflore ham echon
 Þe relef he nom suppe ⁊ and ȝaf ham anon. 2104

'These', he said,
 'are the words I
 spoke to you.'

'Þis beoþ,' he sede, 'þe wordes ⁊ þat ȝe mowe yseo
 þat ich haue to ȝow yspeke ⁊ þe while ich habbe wiþ ȝou ybeo,

2079 He] z. ham] him. 2080 ⁊ also hou hi knewe him furst in &c.
 2084 ffram þe] for. gywes] þe gwywes. 2085 At] As late. 2086 as] z.
 alle] iloke. 2087 Iloke as þe disciples as for grete fere. 2088 gywes]
 disciples. þer-flore in] in. hi were] were. 2090 nabbeþ] nabbe ȝe.
 2091 distourbed] starblynd. adrad] sore aschamed. 2092 þo wende hi
 þat hi seze a gost &c. 2095 Yseoþ ⁊ soeþ. hit] om. al] om. 2099
 ȝut hi] þo ȝut. hit] hi hit. 2101 may beo y-ete] ȝe mowe ete. 2102
 and of] z. myd þis] iwis. 2104 þe] His. ham] hit hem. 2105
 þat] as. 2106 þe while] while.

And þat mot ffolfuld beo : alle þing þat is
 Ywrite in Moyses lawe : and þe prophetes ywis,
 And in þe psalmes of me : and þo openede he anon
 Hare whittes þat hi vnderstode : þis writes echon.
 To ham he sede eke þis : ' ffor hit in write is y-do
 þat Ihesu crist neode moste : dep þolye so,
 And suppe þe þridde day : ffram depe arise to lyue,
 And me moste neode : in his name : prechi al-so blyue
 Penaunce among alle men : and fforziuenesse of mysdede.'
 Suche wordes of oure lord : þe prophetes while sede.
 þo he hadde þus ysed : on ham he blew anon
 A breþ and sede, ' vnderffongep : þe holy gost echon.'
 þe disciples were þo glad : þat hi mihte oure lord y-seo.
 Eftsone Ihesus sede : ' pays myd 3ow now beo.
 As my ffader me hap ysend : al-so ich 3ow sende
 ffor to prechi her in corpe : and his lawe bringe to ende.
 Whas sunne 3e fforziuep : al-so hit worp vndo,
 And whas sunne 3e atholdep : hit worp atholde al-so.'

2108 All things in
 Moses' law, the
 prophets, and
 psalms must be
 fulfilled.'

2112 Then he showed
 how Christ must
 die and rise
 again, and how
 men must
 preach in his
 name.

2116

Breathing on
 them he said,
 'Receive the
 Holy Ghost. I
 send you to
 preach on earth
 and to forgive
 sins.'

2120

2124

Thomas on of þe twelue : þat in to-name was
 Ycluped Thomas longe-in-doute : myd þe opere nouzt
 mas,

Thomas long-in-
 doubt wasn't
 there, but the
 others told him.

þo Ihesus to ham com : þo sede hi anon heye
 þe opere disciples to him : ' oure lord we seye.'
 þo sede seint Thomas : to hem : ' bote ich mihte yseo ywis
 þe prykkynge of þe nayles : þat in his honden is,
 And pulte my ffynger in þe stede : as þe nayles were ybrouzt,
 And myn hond in his syde : y nelle hit leoue nouzt.'
 And after þe eiztepe dayes : þe disciples were ydo
 Wipynne pulke enclos eftsone : and Thomas wip ham al-so,
 And as þe 3ates were ffaste : ybarred ffor drede,
 Ihesus com soudenliche : and amydde ham stod ⁊ sede,

2128

He said, 'Unless
 I put my finger
 in the nail-

[p. 229]

2132

prints and my
 hand in his side
 I'll not believe.'

2136

A week later,
 when Thomas
 was with them,
 Jesus appeared
 and said :

2107 And þat mot] þat hit mot nede. 2108 þe prophetes] in oper.
 2109 openede he] he openede. 2110 Hare whittes þat] Her wip þo.
 2111 in write is] is in writ. 2113 And suppe] Sippe. 2114 prechi
 al-so] also prechi. 2115 alle men] om. 2119 þo glad] glade þo.
 2120 now] om. 2121 ysend] iseid. 2123 Whas] What sinnes
 so. hit] hi. 2124 whas] what. hit worp atholdep] atholde worþep.
 2125 in to] his tuo. 2127 hi] he. 2128 to] seide to. oure &c.]
 þat hi oure louerd iseje. 2129 seint Thomas] Thomas. bote ich
 mihte] mihte. 2131 as] þer. 2134 enclos] clos. 2136 com]
 com al. and amydde &c.] among hem ⁊ sede.

'Peace be with
you. Thomas,
thrust thy finger
in my hands
and thy hand in
my side.'

Thomas said,
'My Lord and
my God.'

'Blessed are
those', said
Jesus, 'who be-
lieve without
seeing me.'

These signs are
written that we
may believe and
have life.

Jesus let his
wounds be all
open after he
arose so the
apostles might
know it was
really he.

'Pays beo myd ȝow' : as he sede er' : ⁊ þer-after ywis
Riȝt anon he sede : to seint Thomas þis,
'Pult þi ffynger her wiȝ-ynne' : and yseo myn hondes al-so,
And ber her to me þin hond' : and in my syde þou him do, 2140
And beo nouȝt vnbyleoued' : ak truwe and stedefast.'
þo answerede seint Thomas : by-þinne þe tyme of a stones cast,
'A' : my lord' : and my god' : and Ihesus to him sede þis,
'ffor þat þou yseye me' : þou leouedest ywis. 2144
Edy and euere yblessed' : alle þulke beo
þat on me by-leoueþ' : and miȝte me nouȝt yseo.'
Monye oþer signes ek' : Ihesus haȝ ywrouȝt
In þe siȝte of his disciples' : þat ne beoþ ywrite nouȝt. 2148
In þis bok alle þeos signes' : beoþ now her ywrite,
In þis bok of him' : þat ȝe byleoue and ywite
þat Ihesus crist godes sone' : and þat ȝe byleoue al-so
To habbe þat lyf in his name' : þat wiȝoute ende is ydo. 2152
þeose wordes to synffol men' : swete y-now beoþ lo
þat on Ihesu wollep by-leoue' : and honoure him þer-to.
þei he ne mowe him nouȝt yseo' : ffor in blessynge he haȝ y-
brouȝt
Alle þat on him by-leoueþ' : and ne seoþ him nouȝt. 2156
þat word vs he ȝaf whanne seint Thomas' : yhered beo þe
stounde,
þat he nolde yleoue bote he pulte' : his ffynger in þe wounde.
Monye axeþ whi oure lord' : let beo his woundes ffyue
Al open and wyd þo he was' : ffram depe arise to lyue. 2160
þat was ffor þe Apostles sholde' : and oþere þat him seye
Yseo þe soþe þat he hit was' : þat on þe Rode gan deye,
And ne beo in no mysbyleoue' : as seint Thomas wolde beo,
ȝif he nadde yseye his woundes' : as ȝe mowe here yseo. 2164

2137 as he &c.] ⁊ þerafter as he seide er iwis. 2138 Riȝt] ȝut.
2139 Pult þi] Ber mi. 2140 þou him] hire. 2141 ak] ac beo.
2142 by-þinne &c.] ⁊ seide atte laste. 2143 and Ihesus to] as ihesus.
2144 ywis] hit iwis. 2145 euere] om. 2146 miȝte] ne mowe. 2147
ek] om. 2149 In þis Boc beoþ nou her alle þinges iwrite. 2151 and
þat] þat. 2152 To habbe] Habbe. 2153 swete &c.] beoþ suete ynou lo.
2154 Ihesu] suete ihesu. 2155 ffor in] in. 2157 he ȝaf whanne]
wan. yhered beo] beo. 2158 in þe wounde] to þe grounde. 2159
Monye] Meni man. let beo] let. 2160 ffram depe arise] arise fram
depe. 2162 on] in. 2164 here] er.

[Anoper encheisoun þer was ek ⁊ whi he leuede his wonden so a
 þat hi were in heuene isene ⁊ þat he was to deþe ido, b
 ⁊ þat he miȝte his fader schewe ⁊ whan he to heuene wende c
 Hou deore he ous bouȝte her ⁊ hou me his bodi to-rende, d
 Atte dai of dome ⁊ iwounded he wole ek beo e
 þat þe lipere gywes mowe ⁊ here lipere dede iseo,] f
 Whuch he is þat hi slowe ⁊ and alle opere lupere al-so
 Yseo how deore he ham bouȝte ⁊ and how he was to deþe y-do,
 So þat hit shal ham turne ⁊ to wel þe more pyne,
 And to alle þat goede beop ⁊ to þe more ioye atte ffyne. 2168

Also so that he
 might show his
 father and those
 in heaven, and
 that at dooms-
 day sinners may
 see how dear he
 bought them.

B Y þe see of Tybre ⁊ Ihesus shewede him more to his ffere
 To his disciples ⁊ and þo he schewede him in þis
 manere

By the sea of
 Tybre Jesus
 appeared to
 seven disciples.

þer were alle to-gadere ⁊ as hit were in one route
 Peter and Thomas ⁊ þat was ycluped longe-in-doute, 2172
 And Nathanael of þe Can ⁊ of Galilee was on,
 And Zebedees twey sones ⁊ seint Iame ⁊ seint Ion,
 And tweye of þe disciples ⁊ þat seuene were echon.
 þo sede Peter, 'ich wolle ⁊ now a-ffisschyng go anon.' 2176
 þo sede þis opere ⁊ 'and we comeþ wiþ þe, lo ⁊'
 Hi wende out and clombe an hey ⁊ in-to þe schip al-so,
 And wende a-ffisschep ⁊ and noþing nome in þulke niȝt.
 A-morwe Ihesus vþ þe brymme stod ⁊ þo hit was day-liȝt, 2180
 Ak þat hit was Ihesus ⁊ hi vnderstode riȝt nouȝt.
 þo sede Ihesus to ham ⁊ 'children, habbe ȝe ouȝt
 Eny þing of mete ⁊ and hi sede 'nay' echon.
 Ihesus sede þo ⁊ 'leggeþ ȝoure net anon 2184
 In þe riȝt half of þe schip ⁊ and ȝe shulleþ ffynde ywis.'
 þo leyde hi out hare net ⁊ and vnderstode þis,
 ffor so muche ffisch hi hente þo ⁊ þat hi ne miȝte to ham drawe.
 þo seide seint Ion þe apostel ⁊ to seint Peter þis sawe, 2188

[p. 230]

Peter and the
 others fished all
 night, but
 caught nothing.

Jesus stood on
 the shore and
 said: 'Let down
 your nets on the
 right side of the
 ship.'

They took so
 many fish they
 couldn't draw
 them in.

2165 alle] þat. 2168 ioye] blisse. 2170 þo he] þo. 2171 were
 alle] were. a] þulke tyme as. 2173 of þe Can] þat of þat cas. 2175
 of] opere of. 2176 now &c.] gon afischep anon. 2177 and we] we.
 2179 noþing nome] ne nome noþing. 2180 þo] as. 2181 Ak þat hit
 was Ihesus] ⁊ þat ihesus hit was. riȝt] hit. 2183 mete] souel. and
 hi] hi. 2184 þo Ihesus seide to hem leggeþ þat &c. 2185 ffynde]
 fyne. 2286 ⁊ hi leide &c. 2187 ffisch hi hente þo] as hi hente.
 to] bit to.

Peter did on his
kirtle and leaped
into the sea.

'Peter' pat is oure lord ' and seint Peter myd þis
þo he hurde pat hit oure lo[r]d was ' he dude on his curtel ywis,
ffor he was naked er ' and dude him in-to þe see,

The others came
in the ship,
dragging the
net full of fish.

And þe opere disciples come ' by shipe him aȝe 2192
And drowe pat net myd ffish ' ffor hi nere nouȝt ffer ffram
londe,

They saw coals
and fish laid
thereon and a
loaf of bread.

Bote a two hondred armes lengþe ' ffram þe elbowe to þe honde.

þo hi to londe come ' hi seye þer hote glede
And ffish þer-vp hi-ledde ' and a lof of brede. 2196

þo sede Ihesus to ham ' bringeþ fforþ þour on
Of þe ffish þat ȝe nome ' and seint Peter anon

Wente and drow þis net ffol ' of grete ffishes to londe,

In the net were
133 great fish.

An hondred and þre and þritty ' grete ' þer were ich vnder-
stonde. 2200

And whanne þer so mony were ' ȝut ne brak nouȝt hare net,

Ak ffor him pat hi ffounde alonde ' hi spedde wel þe bet.

Arst ne spedde ham bote lute ' and lute goeð vp hi bere,

Ne seint Peter wiþ al his gyn ' ffishere þey he were. 2204

Ihesus ham sede þo ' 'comeþ and eteþ anon.'

Jesus said to
them, 'Come
and eat,' and
gave them bread
and fish.

And of alle þat þer ete ' þer ne durste nouȝt on

Segge to him ' what artou ' ffor hi wuste echon

þat hit oure lord was ' and þo Ihesus com gon 2208

And nom bred and tok ham ' and ffish ek þer-to.

In þis manere swete Ihesus ' as he hadde er y-do

Shewede him þe þridde tyme ' to his disciples some,

After þat he was firo deþe arise ' and to lyue ycome. 2212

þe þridde tyme hit is ycluped ' as who-so seiþ in o day,

ffor þe þridde day of his vprisynge ' ffyue syþe him me say.

Ak suppe seuenȝt þer-afterward ' his disciples he com to

As hi were alle by-loke ' and seint Thomas wiþ hem al-so, 2216

This was the
third day on
which Jesus
appeared to the
disciples to-
gether after his
uprising.

2189 seint Peter] Peter. 2190 oure lord was] was oure loured. 2192
by] in þe. 2193 myd] mid þe. ffer ffram] fram. 2194 ffram þe]

fram. 2196 And] z a. hi-ledde] hi leide. 2198 Of þe] þe. nome]
nome nou. 2200 An hondred grete z þreo z vifti þer were on &c. 2203

ham] hi. and] ne bote. hi bere] bere. 2204 Ne peter þurf al his
gin þeȝ he ffishere were. 2206 durste] þerfte. 2208 þo Ihesus]

iheusus þat. 2211 him] hem. to] as to. 2212 After þat] þo.
2213 in o] þe þridde. 2214 þridde] furste. him me] me him. 2216

wiþ hem al-so] also.

As we habbeþ er y-told.⁹ and now as þe þridde day
Who-so wel rekenep þer-to.⁹ þis is.⁹ þat me him ysay.
Ak þe gospel ne seiþ nouȝt.⁹ what day hi made þis mete,
Ne how longe after Ester day.⁹ ak þo hi hadde yȝete

But the gospel
doesn't say how
long it was after
Easter.

2220

TO seint Peter Ihesus sede.⁹ 'Peter, louestou me
More þan þis opere do.⁹' Peter sede, 'ȝe,
Lord pou hit wost wel.⁹ þat ich louye þe ywis.
'ffed þanne my lambren.⁹ þat hi ffare nouȝt amys.' 2224

Jesus asked
Peter thrice,
'Lovest thou
me?'

[p. 231]

[ȝut axede oure lord of peter.⁹ 'peter, louestou me?'

a

And he answerde anon.⁹ 'lord,' he seide, 'ȝe.⁹']

b

ȝut he sede þe þridde tyme.⁹ 'Peter, louestou me?'

þo was Peter sori.⁹ ffor he sede.⁹ þaper twye ȝe,

When he asked
the third time
Peter was sorry.

And þo he axede þe þridde tyme.⁹ he sede, 'al þat is

pou wost wel, lord.⁹ and þat ich louye þe ywis.' 2228

'ffed þanne my shep.⁹ and kep ham.⁹' Ihesus sede þo.

Ak ffor he axede so ofte.⁹ Peter was wol wo,

ffor he wende þat he ne louede him nouȝt.⁹ by resouns mony on

One reason for
the thre ask-
ings was that
Peter denied
Jesus thrice.

þer were þreo axynges.⁹ and þis was þat on, 2232

ffor he him hadde in one niȝt.⁹ pries fforsake er,

þer-ffore he made him pries beo knowe.⁹ þat he louede him þer.

[He axede þat he wiste wel.⁹ him-silue bet þan he, 2234a

Whar he louede him more þan þopere.⁹ ⁊ he seide ȝe, b

þat he louede him wel ynouȝ.⁹ ac ne seide he nouȝt c

þat he louede him more þan þopere.⁹ for none manes þoȝt d

He nuste bote his owe.⁹ ⁊ loþ him were to lie; e

þerfore ne nempnede he non oper.⁹ bote þat he louede him wel f

prie.]

What were sheep and þe lomb.⁹ þat he bad him wisse and rede

Bote mony soules here.⁹ þat he moste wissi neode? 2236

Another was
because Peter
was to be Pope
of Rome.

þer-ffore more þan anoþer.⁹ he bad him segge y-lome,

ffor he was suppe as ȝe witeþ.⁹ Pope ymad of Rome;

2218 ⁊ ho-so rekenep þerto þreo hit is þat &c. 2220 Ne] ⁊ 2224

lambren] lomb quap Ihesus. 2224 a, b Supplied from K. 2226 sede

þaper twye] hadde iseid er tuesday. 2227 And þo] ⁊. he] ⁊. 2228

and þat] þat. 2229 kep ham] witewel. 2230 Ak ffor] ffor. so] him

so. 2231 by] ac. 2232 þer were] þat was of þe. 2233 he

him] he. er] him er. 2234 pries beo] prie. 2235 sheep] þe

schep. wisse] wel wisse. 2236 mony] manes. 2237 þer-ffore]

⁊ þerfore. segge] so. 2238 ffor he was ȝe wel siþþe pope in Rome.

The head of holy church in guiding souls needs three things: word, deed, example.

Per-flore he bad him soules to witte: ak whi he bad him prie
 3e shulleþ yhure after: ffor y nelle 3ow nouzt lye; 2240
 ffor who-so is heued of holy chirche: as preost and persoun is
 preo pinges he mot haue: to wissi þe soules ywis,—
 Word, dede and ensauple: ⁊ bote he hadde alle þeos preo
 He ne may wardeyn of holy chirche in no manere beo. 2244
 Of goede wordes he moste beo: þat ffolk wel to wisse,
 To preche and to shewe þe manere: to deserue heuene blisse.
 Of goede workes he mot beo: and of holy dede,
 Of berynge to giue ensauple: oper men to goede lede, 2248
 ffor 3if þer ffayleþ eny of þeos: and man mysdo þer-flore
 He shal answerie at domes-day: of eche soule ffor-lore.
 And so him hadde beo betere: hadde ywist by-flore
 A ffold ffol of ffale sheep: þey hi were half y-schore, 2252
 Oper skabbede in þe pokkes: oper hare ryg al to-tore,
 And bydde crist at one word: þat he were him-sulf vnbore.
 No wonder þey clerkes wilne: persouns to beo amys,
 And 3ut pere to seint Peter: Ihesus sede pis: 2256
 ‘To soþe ich segge, Peter: þo þou 3onger were
 þan þou now art, þou gurdest þe: and þou pi-sulf þere
 Whoder þou woldest: pi-sulf 3eodest al-so,
 And whanne þou art in eolde: þin honden þou shat do 2260
 Ysprad a-brod and anoper: þe shal gurde and lede
 Al þar þou noldest nouzt: and al pis Ihesus sede
 ffor to shewe in what dep: he scholde deye here,
 And þer-wip oure lordes miȝte: apert make and clere. 2264
 ffor þat he sede þat an-oper: him sholde gurde and lede
 Al þer as he nolde nouzt: he sholde his armes sprede,
 þat was þat he sholde beo: ygurd and y-bounde al-so
 And his armes wyde y-sprad: and in þe rode y-do, 2268
 And þat he sholde in his eolde: þer-to beo y-brouzt,

If any of these fail he shall answer for it at doomsday.

Jesus foretold that Peter should die on the rood.

2238 a ⁊ hadde al holi church in his warde to guye. 2239 to witte] wite. he bad him] bad he him. Omits 2240. 2241 heued] maister. 2242 to wissi] to. 2243 ⁊ bote] bote. alle þeos] þuse godes. 2247 workes] wordes. 2248 oper men] opere. 2249 þer] him. 2250 eche] such a. 2251 hadde] to hadde. 2252 ffale] so fele. half y-schore] ischore. 2253 al to-tore] to-tore. 2254 bydde] wot. him-sulf vnbore] vnbore. Omits 2255, 2256. 2257 To] ffor. Peter] þe peter. 2258 now art] ert nou. and] as. þere] wost þere. 2259 Whoder] ⁊ rist as. 3eodest] þu 3eodest þe-silue. 2262 þar] þer-as. and al] al. 2264 apert make and] makie. 2266 as] þat. he] ⁊ þat he.

And me scholde him lede so ⁊ ak þer he nolde nouȝt, [p. 232]
 þat was aȝen his fliessches wille ⁊ ffor þei his soule hit wolde ywis
 ȝut his fliessch was þer aȝen ⁊ as þe fliessches kunde is, 2272
 As was of oure lord sulf ⁊ þo he swatte þat blod rede
 ffor anguisse aȝen his dep ⁊ and þo þis wordes þer he sede.

TO seint peter Ihesus sede ⁊ 'sywe me anon.' To Peter Jesus
 Peter him byturnde ⁊ and ysey seint Ion 2276 said, 'Follow
 þe Ewangelist ⁊ þe disciple ⁊ þat Ihesus louede so me anon,' but
 Sywe him ek by-hynde ⁊ þat lenede ek al-so Peter didn't
 To his breost and axede him þo ⁊ who him sholde sulle understand that
 In a shereþorsday ⁊ þo he þer lenede al his ffulle; he alluded to
 2280 ffor oure lord spak by-flore ⁊ what Iudas sholde do, the manner of
 Ak as Ihesus vnderstod ⁊ Peter ne þouȝte noþing so, his death.
 ffor Ihesus bad seint Peter ⁊ sywe him þo þere,
 þat was in a manere of dep ⁊ þat hare depes acordaunt were,
 þat he were as he was him-sulf ⁊ in þe rode ydo. 2285
 Of such sywyng he spak to him ⁊ ak he ne vnderstod nouȝt so,
 Ak wende þat he het him sywe ⁊ by-hynde euere ney.
 Þer-flore axede so Peter ⁊ of seint Ion þo he him sey, 2288 Peter asked
 'Lord, what shal þis man ⁊' Ihesus sede anon, what John
 'Ich wolle þat he byleue þus ⁊ ffor-to ich aȝen gon, should do.
 And ffor-to ich aȝen come ⁊ what is þat to þe?' Jesus said, 'I
 As who-so seiþ 'þenk in þi-sulf ⁊ and sywe þou me.' 2292 will that he re-
 Among þe disciples þo ⁊ þis word was ybrouȝt, main, but what
 þat þis disciple seint Ion ⁊ ne sholde deye nouȝt; is that to thee?'
 Ak þat he ne sholde deye nouȝt ⁊ Ihesus ne sede nouȝt þis, But Jesus didn't
 Ak 'ich wolle þat he by-leue þus ⁊ ffor-to ich aȝen go ywis. 2296 say that John
 What toucheþ hit to þe ⁊ and him-sulf þis is should not die.
 Pulke sulue disciple ⁊ þat bereþ wnesse of al þis,

2270 me] þat me. him lede] lede him. 2271 ffor þei] þei. 2272
 his] þe. 2273 was of] was. þat] om. 2274 þis] þe. þer he sede]
 were ised. 2276 seint Ion] Ihon. 2278 Sywe him ek] Suede
 him. al-so] þerto. 2278 a To his breost in þe Cene ⁊ to oure louerd ek
 sede 2278 b Louerd ho is hit þat þe schal bitraye ⁊ sulle to quede. 2279
 follows 2280. 2280 þo he þer] he. al] om. 2281 ffor oure louerd
 hit seide þat Iudas hit &c. 2282 Ak] om. noþing] noȝt. 2283 þo]
 so. 2284 in a] þe. 2288 axede so Peter] peter eschte so. 2290
 þus] þere. 2291 is þat] falþ hit. 2292 þenk in] þen on. 2293
 þe] þis. was] was sone. 2295 nouȝt] om. þis] om. 2296 he] þu.
 þus] so. ffor-to ich &c.] forte ich eftsone come as in þoȝt. 2297 to þe]
 þe. þis] hit.

Seint Ion þe Ewangelist : þat made þis gospel
 And þat is witnesse of sob : we hit witeþ wel. 2300
 Wytnesse he bar her on eorþe : of Ihesu cristes dede,
 And þer-of made his gospelles : as me doþ in chirche rede ;
 Ak þat Ihesus sede þat he wolde : Seint Ion by-leue þus here
 ffor-to he eft come, þat was : to vnderstonde in þis manere, 2304
 þat he nolde nouzt þat he were : yslawe in Martyrdom,
 Ak þat he abyde his ende-day : þat al in pes suppe com,
 ffor-to Ihesu eft come : in heuene him to a-ffonge,
 And þat he sholde in pes endy his lif : whanne he hadde ylyued
 longe, 2308
 Ak nouzt þat he ne sholde deye : as wel as opere mo ;
 ffor hit is betere deye her in goode dep : þan beo euere her in
 wo.

The eleven disci-
 ples went to the
 hill of Tabor as
 Jesus had di-
 rected.

ENleuene disciples : to Galile ham wende
 To þe hulle of Thabor : þer Ihesus ham teizte ⁊ sende,
 And hi honourede him : þo hi seye him come, 2313
 And napeles þat hit were he : hi doutede 3ut some.

He appeared to
 them and said,
 'Go forth in my

[p. 233]

name, baptize
 and teach all
 men.

þo com Ihesus to ham : and sede and spak þis :
 'Al þe mihte in heuene and in eorþe : yziue me is. 2316
 Gop fforþ þanne aboute : and alle men 3e wisse
 And baptizeþ in þe name : of þe ffader of blisse,
 And in þe name of þe sone : and of þe holy gost al-so,
 And techeþ ham to wite wel : and vnderstonde and do 2320
 Euerich þing þat ich 3ow haue yteizt : and ysend 3ou word
 biffore

Lo, I am with
 you all the days
 till the world's
 end.

As by prophetes þat tolde of me : ar ich were ybore.
 And lo : ich am and wole beo : myd 3ow in alle þinge
 Alle þe dayes lo : to þe wordles endynges. 2324
 Eftsone 3ut þer-afterward : as an holy þorsday
 Oure lord cudde more his loue : as ich 3ow telle may.

2300 sob we hit witeþ] 3e witeþ ful. 2303 here] þere. 2304 he]
 om. 2305 nouzt] om. 2306 Ak] ⁊. þat al] al. suppe] ⁊ sippe.
 2307 eft] þurf his wille. him to] him. 2309 ne] om. 2310 ffor
 betere is deye in gode depe þan bileue her euermo. 2311 Enleuene]
 þe elleue. ham] hi. 2312 þer] þat. 2314 And] Ac. 3ut] hem.
 2316 in] of. and in] ⁊ of. 2317 fforþ þanne] þanne 3e. aboute] aboute
 forþ. 2318 in] hem in. þe ffader of blisse] blisse. 2321 Ech word
 ich habbe 3ou iteizt ⁊ isende biffore. 2324 lo] anon.

AS þe enleuene disciples ⁊ a-doun y-sete were
 Oure lord aperede to ham ⁊ as he ofte dude ere, 2328
 To ffonde hare harde heortes ⁊ and hare vnbyleoue
 ffor hi þat seye him ffram depe arise ⁊ leouede hit
 vnneþe.

Again Jesus ap-
 peared to the
 eleven to test
 their hard
 hearts.

‘Gop,’ he sede, ‘in-to al þe wordle ⁊ and precheþ þis gospel
 To euerich manere creature ⁊ and who hit leoueþ wel 2332
 Syker y-saued he shal beo ⁊ ȝif he baptyzed is,
 And who-so hit leoueþ nouȝt ⁊ y-dampned he worþ ywis.

‘Go into all the
 world and
 preach the
 gospel.

Þis toknynges ham schulleþ sywe ⁊ þat leoueþ þis in his lyue :
 Deuelen hi shulleþ in my name ⁊ out caste and dryue ; 2336
 Myd nywe tounȝes hi shulleþ speke ⁊ addren hi shulleþ remue ;
 And ȝif hi drinkeþ dedlich þing ⁊ hit ne shal ham nouȝt anuye ;
 Vp þe syke hi shulleþ hond legge ⁊ and wel ham worþ anon.’
 And þo oure lord hadde þis y-speke ⁊ ffram ham he gan gon.

These signs
 shall follow
 those who be-
 lieve : they shall
 drive out devils,
 speak new
 tongues, remove
 adders, heal the
 sick.’

Þe toknyng of þat spekyng ⁊ þe miracles hit were 2341

þat his halwen wyde wrouȝte ⁊ þat his lawe wolde lere.

Deuelen hi caste out of men ofte and wyde a-londe ;

Myd nywe tonges hi speke ek ⁊ as me miȝte vnderstonde 2344

As hit ffele at wytsoneday ⁊ þat hi speke myd nywe mouþe

And myd nywe tonge þo anon ⁊ eche manere speche hi couþe,

And as god wolde suppe ofte ynow ⁊ whanne hi þat lewede were

So gret clergie speke anon ⁊ symple men to lere. 2348

Addren hi remuede ⁊ whanne hi hadde power

To hele men of poysoun ⁊ and of venym ffer ⁊ ner,

ffor hi þat louede while god ⁊ and stedefast were al-so

God ȝaf grace in his name ⁊ miracles ynowe to do 2352

Wel mo þan me mowe now ⁊ and þat was ffor þis ping,

ffor whanne me sowep nywe sed ⁊ ar hit wole morye oper
 springe,

God gave more
 grace to do
 miracles then
 because the seed
 was newly sown
 and needed rain
 and dew.

ȝif þat lond is ffordryed ⁊ ouȝt ⁊ oper hard oper yclonge, 2355

Me mot sende reyn and dieuȝ ⁊ ffor-to hit beo betere yspronge ;

2328 ⁊ some leye he ihesus to hem wende þere. 2329 To fondi þe
 hardhede of hurte &c. 2330 ffor hi þat him iseȝe arise fram depe to lyue
 &c.

2332 and who &c.] þat he þat ileoueþ hit wel. 2334 hit

leoueþ] ne leoueþ hit. y-dampned &c.] he word idampned iwis. 2335

his] pisse. 2336 dryue] out dryue. 2341 þe toknes þat he of spek

þe &c. 2344 me miȝte] hi couþe. 2345 þat] om. 2347 wolde]

om. þat] om. 2350 and] om. 2351 while] wel. 2353 and] om. 2354

nywe] om. wole morye oper] morie ⁊. 2355 ffordryed ouȝt oper hard]

ouȝt hard oper idrowed. 2356 Me] God. reyn] leom. betere] sumdel.

Now the seed is
well rooted.

Also men's
hearts were so
hard then that
miracles were
needed.

Yet for love of
his saints he
still sends
miracles to
moisten dry
hearts.

[p. 234]

Jesus came the
tenth time on
holy Thursday,
upon Mount
Olivet, and bade
them preach
Christianity.

'I will send you
the Holy Ghost
to comfort you.
Go to Jerusalem
and remain
until the Holy
Ghost be sent.'

Ak whanne hit hap wel ykaugt. and ymored is ffaste ynow
[paune nis hit no neod perto. bote pat lond beo touz. 2357a
Also hit furde her-bifore. er cristendom gan furst springe b
Manes hurte was so hard. pat to cacche moringe c
Of oure rihte bileue. ⁊ iknowe him pat ous bouzte d
Ihesu crist her an vrpe. miracles wide wrouzte; e
Ac nou sippe cristendom. istabled is ynou] f

Of suche miracles Ihesu crist. as we seop him wiþdrow,
ffor whanne hit is ymored ffaste. riht is pat he lete
Ak napeles 3ut ofte among. pat we him ne fforzete 2360
ffor loue of his halwen. miracles he sendeþ grete,
As hit were oure drye heorte. per-wiþ somdel to wete;
As me seop þe corn ymored. pat wolde vneþe springe
Bote dewes þer come among. in þe Mörwenynge. 2364

As ich wene so wolde oure cristendom. bote miracles come
among,
ffor we seop wel mannes heorte. was euere hard and strong.

Ut com Ihesus þe teope tyme. ar he wente to heuene
As hit ffele an holy þorsday. to his disciples enleuene, 2368
þe ffourteope day pat he aros. vp þe Mount of Olyuet
And bad ham stedefastliche do. al þat he ham het
To prechi men of cristendom. and of him wyde aboute,
þat hi of non corplich þing. ne of deþ nadde no doute. 2372
'Ich wolle,' he sede, 'a goed conffort.' þe holy gost 3ow
sende

þat 3ou shal in eche stede confforty. ⁊ euere wiþ 3ow wende.
þer-ffore goþ to Ierusalem. and byleueþ ffaste pere
ffor-to þe holy gost. 3ou beo ysend. pat 3ow shal wisse ⁊ lere.
Ar he beo in 3ow a-lizt. 3e worþ euere agaste, 2377
Ak 3e worþ euere afterward hardy. to prechi of me ffaste.
To his disciples Ihesus sede: 'þeos wordes 3e mowe y-seo
þat ich haue wiþ 3ou y-speke. while ich habbe wiþ 3ow ybeo, 2380

2357 ykaugt] ynome wiþ. 2359 ymored ffaste] faste ymored. he]
we. 2360 Ak] ⁊. 3ut ofte] 3ut. him] hem. 2361 sendeþ] sent-
2362 þer-wiþ somdel] somdel þerwiþ. 2363 þe corn ymored] corn
vmored. þat wolde] wole. 2364 þer] om. 2365 so wolde] om.
2367 þe teope] to þe. ar] as. 2371 of] to. him] hem. 2372
þing] deþ. deþ] noþing. no] om. 2374 3ou shal] schal 3ou. euere
wiþ] wiþ. 2375 ffaste pere] pere. 2376 3ow shal] schal 3ou.
2377 in] to. 2378 worþ euere] worþeþ. 2380 þat] Beop þat.

pat alle þing mot neode beo ⁊ yffolwed and ffolfuld al-so
pat in Moyses lawe ⁊ and in opere prophecyes beop y-do,
And al-so in þe psalmes ⁊ of me hit is ywrite.

þo openede hare wit ⁊ þat hi sholde ywite 2384
And vnderstonde holy writ ⁊ and sede ham þis þer-to,
' ffor hit is y-write ⁊ þat crist moste neodes so

Then he interpreted to them Moses' law, the prophecies, and the psalms.

Soffre deþ and ffram depe ⁊ þe þridde day arise,
And þat me moste in his name ⁊ prechi in alle wise 2388

Penaunce among men ⁊ of mysdede in fforziuenesse
To by-gunne at Ierusalem ⁊ and 3e beo þer-of wittenesse.
My ffladeres by-heste ⁊ now ich wolle 3ou sende.

þer-flore sitteþ in þe cyte ⁊ þat 3e þannes ne wende 2392
flor-to 3e beo yffuld oueral ⁊ of þe holy gost ffram heye.

He held vp his hond ⁊ and ar he wolde ffram ham steye
Vp þe hulle of Olyuet ⁊ toward Bethanye
Hi stode alle ak non ne durste ⁊ to him speke ne crye. 2396

Lifting up his hand, he blessed them, and then before their eyes went up to Heaven.

A swete blessing he 3af ham ⁊ and suppe by-flore hare eye
He wente vp in-to heuene ⁊ as hi alle y-seye.

Aboute non of þe day ⁊ ffram ham to heuene he stey,
And he þer sitteþ in his riche ⁊ in his fflader riȝt hond an hey.

Ak þo he com vp a-boue ⁊ a cloude com him ney. 2401
pat ffolk pat stode by-neoþe ⁊ namore him ne sey.

Men þer stode of Galilee ⁊ þat byheolde vpward fflaste
And hare eyen toward heuene ⁊ wel stikelliche hi caste, 2404
And by-heolde þer how oure lord ⁊ to heuene wende.

While they gazed upward two angels in white appeared and said, 'As ye see God's son wend to heaven, so shall he come again at the world's end.

Twey aungeles come ham ney ⁊ as oure lord ham þider sende ;
In white clopes hi stode ⁊ by opere þer-vnder.

' Men,' hi sede, ' of Galilee ⁊ whar-of þinkeþ 3ow wonder ? 2408

As 3e seop now godes sone ⁊ in-to heuene wende

Al-so he shal come agen ⁊ at þe wordles ende.'

- | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------|
| 2381 yffolwed &c.] fulfuld ⁊ fuldo. | 2382 and in &c.] ⁊ in prophetes also. | 2383 hit is] om. | 2384 opened] vpenede he. | 2385 |
| holy] þe holi. | 2386 is] is þus. | neodes] om. | 2389 men] alle | |
| men. in] om. | 2390 beo þer-of] bereþ herof. | 2391 My] ⁊ mi. | 2392 | |
| þer-flore] ⁊. in þe] 3e in þis. | þannes] hunne. | 2393 ffram] an. | 2393 a | |
| þerafter he ladde hem þer wiþoute neȝ. | 2394 He held] ⁊ hef. | and] | | |
| om. | Omits 2396. | 2397 A] His. | 2400 As he sit &c. | 2401 |
| Ak] ⁊. | 2402 þat] þat þe. | 2404 ⁊ for wonder he nuste whar hi | | |
| were so þe cloude hem ouercaste. | 2405 þer how oure lord] vp an heȝ | | | |
| hou he. | 2406 come] stode. | 2407 by opere &c.] byneþe vnder. | | |

[p. 235] In þe place as oure lord ⁊ þo to heuene stey

A church is now built there, but the spot where Jesus stood couldn't be covered by mortar or stone.

A chirche þer is now arered ⁊ swiþe noble and hey, 2412

[Ac me ne miȝte neuere helie ⁊ þe stede þat heo stod inne a

Mid morter ne mid pauement ⁊ ne mid non oþer ginne. b

Whan eni man leide a ston ⁊ he smot aȝen his heued, c

ffor me ne miȝte him helie noȝt ⁊ bar he is bileued d

⁊ longe after pulke tyme ⁊ þat oure louerd to heuene steȝ e

Me huld ech pursdai ⁊ as holi ⁊ heȝ.] f

Each Thursday was long kept as a holy day.

As me dude an-oþer day ⁊ al-so fferde þe holy þorsday,

Ak suppe as me neode moste ⁊ holy chirche by-say

As an-oþer workeday ⁊ þe þorsday to wirche

ffor þe many ffestes ⁊ þat flalleþ in holy chirche. 2416

After þat swete Ihesus ⁊ þe wey to heuene nom,
þer þe apostles helde ham ney ⁊ ffor-to þe holy gost com.

From the hill of Olivet the disciples went down to Jerusalem, a mile away.

Of þe hulle of Olyuest ⁊ sone hi wente a-doun

To þe borw of Ierusalem ⁊ and by-leuede in þe toun. 2420

A þousand stappes þer bytwene ⁊ so muche was þe way

In hare sabat to go and namore ⁊ bote hi wiþsede hare lay,

Euene stappes as men stappeþ ⁊ whanne hi goþ a goed pas.

Ich wene ȝut hi ffareþ so ⁊ ffor hare lawe while hit was 2424

And so sholde ech goed cristene man ⁊ holde his soneday

And go namore þan so muche ⁊ to holde wel his lay.

A þousand stappes of such pas ⁊ a-boute a myle hit is ;

Who-so goþ more þe soneday ⁊ ich wene he doþ amys, 2428

In godes seruise bote he beo ⁊ ffor ȝif he doþ ywis

He halt worse his by-leoue ⁊ þan þe gyew doþ his.

þe Apostles ȝeode in-to þe temple ⁊ and helde ham þer ffaste ;

Hi ne durste þannes go ⁊ so sore hi were ⁊ of þe gyewes a-gaste.

þer hi hulde ham in an hurne ⁊ wel ffaste euerichon, 2433

Seint Peter and seint Andrew ⁊ seint Iame ⁊ seint Ion,

Seint phelip and seint Iacob ⁊ and also seint Bartolomew,

Seint symon and seint Iude ⁊ seint Thomas ⁊ seint Mathew,

The apostles went to the temple, but for fear of the Jews kept in a corner.

2411 lord] louerd stod. þo] þo he. 2413 an-oþer day] þe soneday.

al-so &c.] for holi þursdai. 2414 Ak] ⁊. 2415 þe] þanne. 2416

ffestes] festen of halewen. 2418 þer þe] þe. ney] þer neȝ. 2421 so &c.]

for so moche a gyw mai. 2422 to go] go. 2423 hi] me. a goed]

forþ. 2424 hi] hit. 2425 ech goed] ech. 2426 go] ne go.

2427 a-boute a myle] a Mile neȝ. 2428 þe] þane. doþ] goþ. 2429

he] hit. 2432 Hi ne þerfte go þanne so hi &c. 2433 wel ffaste]

faste. 2435 and also] ⁊. 2436 Seint symon] simon.

Oure lady and hure twey sustren ⁊ and þe Magdaleyn al-so, 2437
 To-gadere hi were in an hurne ⁊ ffor-to þe holy gost com ham to, Night and day
 In orisouns day and niȝt ⁊ and eche day hi ffaste they prayed,
 ffram holy þorsday ⁊ ffor-to oure lord ⁊ þe holy gost ham caste. and fasted from
 þe ffore hit is a goed ffastyng ⁊ þe man þat ffaste may 2441 holy Thursday
 ffram pulke tyme as þe apostles ⁊ ffor-to whitsonday, to Whitsunday.
 And þanne a-ffonge godes flesch ⁊ ⁊ þe holy gost al-so
 As þe apostles at whitsonday ⁊ þo hare ffastyng was ydo. 2444
 Seint Peter aros a day ⁊ among his ffelawes alle. Peter proposed
 'Lordynges,' he sede, 'wel ȝe witeþ ⁊ what vs is by-ffalle to choose an-
 Of Iudas þat oure ffelawe was ⁊ and oure lord haþ y-bede 2447 other in the
 þorw seint Dauid in his sauter ⁊ þat we nyme on in his stede, stead of Judas.
 ffor he seiþ þat his bisschopriche ⁊ an-oper schal a-ffonge.
 ffolffulle we his heste ⁊ ne a-byde we nouȝt to longe.
 þo chose hi twey goede men ⁊ þat on was seint Mathie, Mathie and
 þe oper was Iosep y-hote ⁊ ⁊ þo on oure lord hi gonne crie 2452 Joseph were
 ffourtene niȝt to sende ham his grace ⁊ wheþer þe betere were named, so they
 To beo his Apostel fforþ wiþ ham ⁊ cristendom to lere, cast lots and
 þo caste hi lot and hit com ⁊ vp seint Mathi by cas the lot fell on
 So þat he was Apostel þo ⁊ in þe stede of Iudas, 2456 Mathie.
 And Iosep þey he a goed man were ⁊ by-leuede as he er
 was,
 ffor a man nys neuere þe wors ⁊ þey an-oper habbe betere [p. 236]
 cas,
 And al-so beo betere þan he ⁊ as me seop ofte by wone.
 þis goede man Iosep was ⁊ oure lady suster sone 2460
 And seint Iacob his broþer ⁊ and seint simon ⁊ Iude ⁊ Joseph was Our
 þe wyf þat suche sones bar ⁊ miȝte beo a goed brude Lady's sister's
 And ne of-þinche nouȝt þe tyme ⁊ þat ȝeo yspoused was. son, and brother
 þe Apostles by-leuede in þe temple ⁊ fforþ after þis cas 2464 of James, Simon,
 In bedes and in ffastyng ⁊ to-gadere hi were echon and Jude.
 Ar þe holy gost were to ham y-send ⁊ hi ne durste out gon.

2438 com ham] hem com. 2440 ham] him. 2441 ffaste] hit ffaste.
 2442 tyme] dai. ffor-to] anon to. 2444 hare] þe. 2445 a day]
 vp. 2448 his] þe. þat we] to. 2452 ⁊ þo] om. 2453 To
 sende hem his grace for to wite wheþer betere were. 2455 com] ful.
 2456 þe] om. 2457 And] om. 2458 habbe] habbe þe. 2459
 beo] om. 2464 fforþ after] for. 2465 hi were echon] euerechon.
 2466 were to ham] hem was. durste] þerfte. gon] non.

Whitsunday at
undern a wind
and great fire
without heat
filled the temple.

AT hondern a wytsonday ⁊ as þe apostles stode and sēde
In þe temple and cride on god ⁊ hit gan to pondri
grete, 2468
And in a wynd among ham com ⁊ gret ffor wipoute
hete;

ffol was þe temple of wynd ⁊ ffor ⁊ þat ffolc dradde vnymete.

In þe apostles wende þe holy gost in ffourme of pilke lizte.

Boldelych hi wente fforþ ⁊ and schewede oure lordes mizte. 2472

Hi were ffol of þe holy gost ⁊ hi speke alle manere speche

And langage þat on eorþe was ⁊ as þe holy gost ham gan teche;

þer nas no speche vnder sonne ⁊ þat hi ne speke ywis.

þer-of hadde wonder gret ⁊ þe ffolc þat yseye al þis 2476

[ffor in þe burȝ of ierusalem ⁊ ech maner folc þer were a

⁊ ihurde þapostles speke þere ⁊ þat in here londe neuere nere.] b

‘þeos beoþ,’ hi sēde, ‘of Galilee ⁊ who mizte ham so lere?

Hi conneþ þe speche of oure lond ⁊ þat neuere ne come
þere.’

þe gyewes of þe sulue lond ⁊ þat nuste what hi tolde,

Sēde, ‘þeos men beoþ dronke of mostȝ ⁊ hi ne conne hare tonges
holde.’ 2480

‘ȝe mysseggeþ,’ quap seint Peter ⁊ ‘and as mysbyleouede al-so;

þe holy gost vs haȝ y-ffed ⁊ þat vs techeþ þus to do,

ffor now ȝe seoþ godes mizte ⁊ þat we þat lewede were

þe tonge of eche lond conne ⁊ þat neuere ne come þere. 2484

ȝif ȝe nolleþ þorw preching ⁊ yleoue godes mizte,

Yleoueþ þorw þe ffaire miracle ⁊ þat among vs her a-lizte.’

þo sēde monye of þe gyewes ⁊ ‘Peter, we byddeþ þin ore;

On þi mayster we by-leoueþ ⁊ tech vs of þi lore.’ 2488

‘Let ȝou baptyze,’ quap seint Peter ⁊ ‘ne byleueþ hit nouȝt to
longe,

Ak betēþ ȝoure sunnes wip penaunce ⁊ cristendom to a-ffonge.’

The Holy Ghost
came on the
apostles.

They spoke all
manner of lan-
guages; folk of
every land won-
dered to hear
their own
speech.

The Jews said,
‘These men are
drunk,’ but
Peter said, ‘We
are filled with
the Holy Ghost.
If ye will not
believe our
preaching be-
lieve the
miracle.’

Many Jews be-
lieved and asked
to be taught the
faith.

2467 sēde] sete. 2468 and cride] to crie. 2469 In a wynd com to
hem &c. 2472 schewede oure lordes] cudde godes. 2473 hi] ⁊.
alle] ech. 2475 nas no] nas. 2476 hadde] hi hadde. þe ffolc &c.]
þat ihurde al þis. 2477 beoþ hi sēde] beoþ. 2478 neuere ne come]
ne come neuere. 2481 as mysbyleouede] misbileoueþ. 2482
y-ffed] ifuld. to do] do. 2483 ȝe] we. þat] for. 2484 þe langage
conne of eche lond &c. 2489 byleueþ hit] bileue ȝe. 2490 Ak] ⁊.
cristendom] þe holi gost.

þo by-leuede hi þer in þat place : and to oure lord gonne go
And let ham cristny þorw seint Peter : þreo hondred men

More than 300
were baptized.

ʒ mo.

2492

þo al Ierusalem ham doutede : and ne durste [hem wipsigge]
ffor ffere ;

So grete miracles þe apostles dude : among þe gywes þere.

Alle þat on ham by-leouede : hare goedes hi nome sone 2495

And delde hit among pouere men : as hare ese was to done.

Seint Peter and seint Ion : ʒeode al þe lond wip-oute

And so grete miracles dude : þat þe gywes hadde doute.

A man þat hadde croked ybeo : more þan ffourty ʒer

And ybore was croked of his moder : at a ffayr ʒat sat þer 2500

And bad ham som goed ffor godes loue : Peter hurde þis.

'Man :' he sede, 'gold ne seluer : nabbe ich non ywis,

Ak þat ich hadde ich þe ʒiue : aris,' he sede, 'ʒ go.'

Þis man aros vp hol and sound : oure lord he herede þo, 2504

And ʒeode in-to þe temple and gradde : how he y-heled was.

Þe ffolk þat þis ysey : hadde gret wonder of þat cas.

Of seint Peter hi axede anon : þorw what vertue hi were

þat he suche miracles dude : whuche neuere non here. 2508

'Syker ʒow beo,' quap seint Peter : 'ich ne do ham nouȝt

Ak my mayster doþ Ihesus crist : þat ʒe habbeþ to deþe y-
brouȝt,

þo Barrabas þe Manquellere : ʒe lete to lyue go.

Witnesses þe beop of godes dede : and þeos beop al-so.' 2512

þo þe apostles prechede þer : þe Maystres of þe lawe

Ham nome and dude in prisoun : and þouȝte ham habbe y-slawe.

A-Morwe hare twey bisschopes : þat were Anna and Cayphas,

Axede þe apostles of hare dede : þorw what vertue hit was. 2516

Peter and John
went about do-
ing great
miracles.

To a man who
was born
crooked Peter
said, 'Rise and
walk !' He rose
up whole.

[p. 237]

The folk won-
dered and asked
how he did such
miracles.

'I do them not,'
quoth he, 'but
my master
Christ whom ye
brought to
death.'

The masters of
the law cast the
apostles in
prison, and
Anna and
Caiaphas ques-
tioned them of
their deeds.

2491 hi þer] þer. þat] þe. 2492 men ʒ] ʒ. Transposes 2493 and
2494. 2493 þo] þat. ne durste] ne þerfte hem wipsigge. 2495
nome] solde. 2496 hit among pouere] among cristene. 2497 al
þe lond] a lute. 2498 dude] wroȝte. 2500 ffayr ʒat] ʒate. 2503
þat] what. þe] wole þe. aris] arys vp. 2505 gradde] gradde wide.
2506 ʒ þat sto fole stod þat þis ise] in gret þoȝt of þis cas. 2507 Of] ʒ.
2508 whuche neuere non] suche non neuere. 2509 ich] þat y. 2510
my mayster doþ] doþ mi maister. 2512 beop al-so] þat bot nede also.
2513 þo] As. 2514 Ham nome] Nome bem. and þouȝte &c.] forto
amorwe dawe. 2515 þat were Anna] Anne. 2516 Axede þe
apostles] þapostles eschte.

Peter told them
it was by the
power of Christ.

'Certes,' quap seint peter : ' we ne mowe hit nouzt do
Bote þorw Ihesu crist : pat 3e to depe brouzte wip mucche wo,
ffor þorw noþing a syk man : ne may hol beo
Bote þorw his name and his miȝte : as 3e mowe her yseo.' 2520
Hi hete while hi counsaylede ham : wip-drawe ham a stounde ;
Hi counsaylede how hi miȝte do : pat hare lawe 3eode nouzt to
grounde.

They debated
what they
should do,

Hi sede, 'aperteliche : me may her miracles yseo
pat we ne mowe wip-segge nouzt : þei we euere by-neoþe beo.'
þe apostles hi clupede aȝen : and hete ham anon 2525
pat hi ne speke namore of Ihesu : and harmles hi scholde gon,
And pat hi hele wel þe miracles : pat hare god hadde y-wrouzt.
'þey we sholde deye,' quap seint Peter : 'pat nolle we nouzt 2528
ffor þe miracles so apert beoþ : pat no man ham hele ne may ;
Telle ich wolle of Ihesu crist : al pat ich hurde and say.'
And boldelyche hi wente fforþ : þe gywes pretneðe fflaste,
Ak hii ne durste ham atholde : so sore hi were a-gaste ; 2532

and hade the
apostles speak
no more of
Jesus.

'Even if we die
for it,' said
Peter, 'I will
tell of Jesus
Christ.'

So the apostles
began to preach
in Jerusalem
and afterward in
Judaea, in Inde,
and many other
lands.

So pat þe apostles bygonne : godes lawe to preche
In þe borw of Ierusalem : and þe gospel to teche,
And suppe in þe lond of Iudee : and suppe ich vnderstonde
In þe lond of Inde : and suppe in Mony oper londe. 2536
Euere as pat flok to ham turnde : hare goed hi solde stille
And to þe apostles flet hit caste : to do þer-wip hare wille.
Goede men þer turnde eke to ham : pat godes disciples by-come
pat prechede a-boute godes lawe : ffor-to hi þan dep nome. 2540
Seint steuene was pat on : pat ffurst was ybrouzt of dawe
After oure lordes dep : to holde vp þe goede lawe,
And þe apostles suppe afterward : and many martyr al-so,
As hit seiþ in hare lyues : who-so comeþ þer-to. 2544
Now Ihesu ffor þe swete croys : pat þou were on y-do
Bryng vs to þe blisse of heuene : pat þou vs bouztest to.

Stephen was the
first martyr, but
there were many
others, as it says
in their Lives.

A. M. E. N.

2518 Ihesu crist] ihesus. 3e &c.] 3e nome 7 brozte to depe also. 2519
ffor noþing vnder heuene a sek &c. 2520 and his] 7 þurf his. 2521
while] hem þe while. 2522 3eode nouzt] ne 3eode. 2523 Hi seide
me mai here miracles aperteliche iseo. 2524 mowe] mowe hem. 2526
pat hi ne speke of god namore 7 &c. 2527 wel] om. 2528 nolle] ne
schule. 2529 hele] bileue. 2530 al] om. 2531 And] om.
2532 durste ham atholde] þerfte atholde hem. a-gaste] of here miracles
agaste. 2533 godes] þo gode. to] furst to. 2534 to] om. 2535
And] om. Iudee] ynde. and suppe] as. 2536 Inde] samarye. Mony]
om. 2539 þer] hi. 2542 þe goede] þe. 2544 hare] eche of
here. 2546 blisse] ioie.

NOTES

1. *as* : in pleonastic construction, as frequently.
12. *þo* : here, as in v. 279, there is no apparent reason for the demonstrative. *H* reads in both instances *þe*.
- 12-16. On the origin of this custom, cf. *Introd.*, p. lxii.
27. *þaf* : *H* (correctly) *þeue*.
- 27-34. These lines are closely paralleled by vv. 115-16, 119-20, and 133-6 in the *Life of Judas*, printed by Furnivall from MS. Harl. 2277 in *Early Eng. Poems* (*Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1862, p. 110):

For meni men ȝyue oure louerd god : þat were of gode þoȝt
 To susteynie his apostles : oþer nadde he noȝt.
-
- Whan he miȝte of eche þing : þe teoping he wolde stele,
 A schrewe he was al his lyf : y ne maie no leng hele.
-
- þe teoping þerof was þrettie pans : sore him of-þoȝte þerfore
 þat so menie pans of his þeoƿþe : scholde fram him beo ilore.
 þerfore oure louerd for þrettie pans he solde mid vnriȝte
 þat he þe teoping of pulke boxes to him keouerie miȝte.
- This explanation of the price named by Judas for the betrayal is again presented in vv. 787-92. On the tradition, cf. *Introd.*, pp. lxiii, lxv.
39. *wylte* : elsewhere *wylte* (vv. 194, 1715) from O.E. *wiltian*. The -*y*(*i*) of the second weak conjugation is ordinarily retained in this MS.
- 54-8. Cf. *Zech.*, ix. 9.
85. *In-to* : for *into* in the sense of 'in', 'throughout', cf. *Robert of Glouc. Chronicle*, v. 10,540. The fifteenth-century MS. *T* reads *in*.
- 87-90. On this explanation of the *silentium campanorum*, cf. *Introd.*, p. lxxvi. A different explanation is offered in the 'Sermo ad Tenebres' in *Mirk's Festial*; here the silencing of the bells is interpreted as commemorating the fact that the Jews came 'prively' to take Jesus (E.E.T.S. Ext. Ser. 96, p. 117).
113. *alosed* : the word apparently offered difficulties. *H* reads *alosne*, which is apparently meaningless; *V*, *a logge*; *T*, *denne*.
123. *soukyng* : the regular form of the participle in all MSS. of the *Passion* except the Vernon, which has *-inde* (*inge*).
173. *as ffor hure aȝse* : *H* gives the correct reading *meseise*, and *T* similarly *myseise*. Cf. Luc. xxi. 4 : 'ex eo quod deest illi'.
177. *aȝte* : clearly the auxiliary here, although the form is normally that of the substantive.
- 177-8. The obscurity of these lines perhaps resulted from ambiguous pronouns. The meaning appears to be : When his offering (to the priest) is great it seems to him (the priest) that he (the generous giver) may escape (penance).

183-90. The parable of the grain of wheat is expanded into a long and detailed allegory of the birth and Passion of Jesus in a poem beginning, 'Whon grein of whete is caste to grounde', in the Vernon MS. (ed. Horstmann, *Arch.*, lxxi. 83-5). The theme of Christ as an 'ear of wheat' appears also in a song in Balliol Coll. MS. 354 (ed. Flügel, *Neuengl. Lesebuch*, p. 112, and Dyboski, *E.E.T.S.* ci. 34-5).

191-2. Confusion of direct and indirect discourse.

193. *loueþ*: *H* (correctly) *hateþ*; cf. *Joan.*, xii. 25: 'et qui odit animan suam in hoc mundo'.

198. *Now*, &c.: *H* (correctly) *Now is mi soule desturbed*; cf. *Joan.*, xii. 27: 'anima mea turbata est'.

231. *tywersday*: the invariable spelling in the MS.; cf. also vv. 752, 758. *H* spells *tywesday*. The spelling with 'r' is peculiar to the scribe of *P*.

246. *and sone him nome*: a corruption; *H* preserves the syntax.

256. *He*: an instance of the survival of grammatical gender. Other instances are: *kyngdom* . . . *he* (v. 462); *day* . . . *he* (v. 521); *rode* . . . *hure* (vv. 1455-6); *sonne* . . . *his* 1547 (but *þeo* 1549); *mone* . . . *hure* (v. 1551; see note on this line); *eorþe* . . . *þeo* (vv. 1587-8). In some cases a personal form in *H* has been replaced by a neuter in *P*: *tonge* . . . *heo*, *H* 1531, 1533; *sper* . . . *him*, *H* 1635, 1636. *Hond-hire* (*H* 1640) is perverted in *P* to *him*. In regard to grammatical gender in Middle English, cf. Samuel Moore, 'Grammatical and Natural Gender in Middle English', *P.M.L.A.* xxxvi. 79-103.

255. *habbeþ*: the corruption is present also in *H* 'habbeþ god ifounde', and in *V* 'have good ifounde' (cf. *Matt.* xxi. 42; *Luc.* xx. 17: 'Lapidem quem reprobaverunt ædificantes'). *T* has retained the verb conveying the original meaning, 'þe ston þat þe bulderis repreuedin hath god ifounde'; here, however, an additional difficulty is introduced. Conceivably the line may have read: 'þe ston þat þe beolderes repreueden & nabbeþ god ifounde'. The loss of the perhaps unintelligible word translating *reprobaverunt*, and the confusing of the *n* of *nabbeþ* with *h*, would account for the line as it stands in *H*, *V*, and *P*.

316. *þe riȝt*, &c. The reading of *H* is preferable on grounds both of meaning and of metre.

350 a-d. These lines stand also in *T* and *V*, the only other texts in Group *τ* which include the parable material.

354. *seop*: *V* (correctly) *secheþ*; cf. *Matt.* xiii. 45: 'negotiatori quærenti'. *T* reads *bieth*.

405. *eorþ-byne*: apparently a scribe's error for *eorþ-dyne*.

415-17. *H* has kept the correct reading; cf. *Matt.* xxiv. 12: 'et quoniam abundavit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum.'

431-2. *ffette* . . . *dette*. The spelling *ffette* is not what we should expect in an infinitive derived from O.E. *fetian*. Possibly it implies a misreading of original *ffecche* (the reading of *H*), in which case *drecche* (v. 432) would stand.

439-40. The ultimate source for the duration of the pre-Doomsday period is *Luc.* iv. 25: 'quando clausum est caelum annis tribus et mensibus sex.' Cf.

Apoc. xi: 'tres dies et dimidium'. Three and a half—the half-week—was traditionally the 'incomplete' number; on this subject, cf. Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, trans. Joseph Henry Allen, Boston, 1897, p. 313.

453. *one Mannes sone*; cf. also vv. 490, 529, 1217. On this locution, cf. *Introd.*, p. lxxv.

472-6. On the significance of these lines in dating the poem, cf. *Introd.*, p. xi.

497. *H* (correctly) *some while aȝen domesday*.

520. *gar*: apparently from O.Fr. *garegare*, 'an ambush', although Godefroy gives no example of *gare* alone in this sense. The word is not in the *N.E.D.*

524. *syde*: *H* (correctly) *wyde*; cf. 'pat me spak of wyde' (v. 72).

526. *ffounde*: this can hardly be derived from O.E. *fundian*. Of the meanings in which this verb was employed in Middle English (cf. *N.E.D.*) that of 'try to come at' or 'strike at (with a weapon)' is the only one which would be at all appropriate to the context, and no instances of the verb with this meaning occur with a direct object. Moreover, forms in this text which are indisputably from *fundian* (*ffondede* 1368, *ffonde* 2329) are spelled *foud-*. It seems on the whole more reasonable to regard *ffounde* as the aphetic form of 'confound' (= destroy), although the earliest instance given by the *N.E.D.* is considerably later than that to which this text belongs.

553. *beoþ*: *H* (correctly) *bereþ*.

560. After this line *H* adds the following couplet:

ȝ for no boban of þe wordle þus lo here lampen hi tende,
ȝ wiþ oeli ȝ holy þoȝt aȝen here spouse wende.

770. The punctuation should stand after *by-ffore*, not (as in MS.) after *ham*. 'There was nothing to be taught them in the way of trickery.'

786. *luþer chapman*: on the origin of the epithet cf. *Introd.*, pp. lxxvi-vii. In the Cornish *Passion* Judas is characterized as a 'weak trader that found not an equivalent' (Stokes translation; cf. *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1860-1, Appendix, p. 15). He is referred to as 'marchaunt vnwys' in v. 393 of the fifteenth-century metrical *Meditations on the Passion* (ed. Dr. Charlotte D'Evelyn, E.E.T.S. 158, p. 11). In the controversial tract, *Jack Upland*, dated by Skeat c. 1402, the person who is guilty of simony in selling 'goddes body' is held to be 'a chapman worse than Judas, that solde it for thirty pens' (ed. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, vii. 195).

788. *as hit seiþ by-ffore*: cf. vv. 31-4.

833-4. *H* presents the more intelligible reading.

837-8. From the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi*; cf. *Introd.*, p. lxxxii.

855. *Wiþ strengþe*, &c.: cf. *Introd.*, p. lxxv.

906 a-b. These lines, which stand also in *T* and *B*, are required for the completion of the sense and should probably be regarded as genuine.

929-30. Cf. also vv. 1015-16, and *Introd.*, p. lxxvii.

971 a-d. These lines stand also in *T* and *V* and constitute part of the continuous translation of *Joan.*, xiv offered by vv. 931-1004.

989. *bytvene*: an impossible reading; *T* is clearly right in reading *bileue*.

1084. *to þe deþe*, &c.: Vulg. merely 'usque ad mortem' (Matt. xxvi. 38), with which *T* agrees.

1108. *ȝorn*: cf. also *ȝeornynge* (v. 1122), *ȝorn* (v. 1232), *ȝorne* (v. 1449), *ȝorn* (v. 1662), *ȝorne* (v. 1804). Cf. the identical spelling of this word in *Robert of Glouc. Chronicle* (MS. C) vv. 8671 and 9191 as well as in *Piers Plow.* C-text xiii. 13.

1119. *men*: *T* (correctly) *me*.

1175. *on*: *T* (correctly) *anne*. Our scribe repeats his error in v. 1193: *on of ham*.

1199. *Vnder þe ere a boffet*: cf. 'And smyten vnder þat ere', in the *Passion of our Lord* (v. 388) of the Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS. (E.E.T.S. 49, p. 48). Also, 'smot him a boffet onder þe ere' in the *Thomas a Beket* (v. 90) in the *S. E. L.* (text of Laud 108, E.E.T.S. 87, p. 403). The phrase recurs in v. 1229 below.

1250. *T* offers the preferable reading: *petir was þo aferd*.

1258. *put of cokkes crowe*: cf. *Introd.*, p. lxvi.

1259-70. On the part played by the devil in the Passion, and the tradition as to the limits of his knowledge cf. *Introd.*, pp. lxvi, lxxii-iv. Cf. also the speech of the devil in *þe Deueles Perlament* (vv. 213-16):

Me was woo for þat iugement,
Of 'crucifuge' to heere þe noise;
Pilatis wijf y bad bisily ȝene tent
þat ihesu were not doon on þe crois (E.E.T.S. 24, p. 48).

1267. *deliuered*: the meaning here must be 'handed over' (as in v. 266), not 'set free'.

1284. The couplet which follows this line in *T* stands also in *B*, but in no other MS.

1294. *outrage*: here apparently the adjective, 'outrageous', in parallel construction with *fals*. None of the meanings given in the *N.E.D.* is precisely suitable here.

1338. *whole*: the scribe occasionally writes *wh* for *w*; cf. *ynwhit* (v. 1954).

1351. *hi*: *T* reads correctly *þe*. The syntax of the first half-line as it stands in the text requires one to read *Paynym* as referring to Barabbas; the scribe has apparently altered the second half-line to agree with this interpretation.

1395-1400. These lines are closely paralleled (cf. vv. 27-34) by vv. 140-4 in the *Life of Judas* (*Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1862, p. 111):

Him-silf he heng vp a treo: for such deþ he scholde to.
His wombe to-berste amidde a-tuo: þo he schulde deye.
His gvttes fulle to grounde: menie men hit iseye.
þer wende out a liþer gost: atte mouþ hit ne miȝte
For he custe er oure louerd þerwiþ mid vnriȝte.

On the tradition, cf. *Introd.*, p. lxvi.

1401-2. Cf. a passage in one of the sermons of Leo the Great, 'Cur, infelix Juda, tanta benignitate non uteris', &c. (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 54, col. 334; cf. also cols. 351-2).

1410. Judas is, of course, the stock example in medieval homiletics of the sin of wanhope; cf., among other instances, *Handlyng Synne*, vv. 4169 ff. (E.E.T.S.) and the *Speculum of Guy of Warwick*, vv. 129-32 (E.E.T.S., Ext. Ser. 75, p. 8).

1423. *Sharpe and kene*: the phrase became the conventional epithet for the crown of thorns. Cf. 'His heued was crowned, þat was sene wiȝ scharpe thornes and wiȝ kene', in the poem in the Auchinleck MS. beginning 'Jesu þat for vs wolde die' (ed. Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* ix. 45); also the verses on the Wounds, beginning, 'Wyth sharp thornes þat beȝ kene' (see *Register M.E. Rel. Verse*, ii, No. 2666). The phrase apparently became attached to thorns of any kind; cf. 'The nightingale sat on a brer, Among the thornes sharp and keen' (Chambers and Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics*, No. XXXII); also 'as þe rose spryngs of þe brer þat sharp and kene is' (*Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, v. 6794).

1458. *hounschy*: in *E*, *honschi*; in *T*, *hunsche*. The earliest occurrence of this verb recorded in the *N.E.D.* is in the sixteenth century; see under *hunch*.

1459. On the authority for the 'upright' as opposed to the 'prostrate' mode of the Crucifixion cf. *Introd.*, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxv. In later Mid.-Eng. treatments of the Passion one finds almost invariably the 'prostrate' Crucifixion. Thus, the binding of the body to the cross on the ground and the jolting of the cross into the mortise when it was fixed in an upright position are narrated in detail in the following treatises: 'The Privy of the Passion' (a prose translation of the *Meditationes*), printed from the Thornton MS. (Horstmann's *Richard Rolle*, i. 205-6); Rolle's 'Meditation on the Passion' (*Ibid.*, i. 86-7); Nassyngton's poem, *De Trinitate et Unitate* (*Ibid.*, ii. 334); and in an unprinted fourteenth-century 'O and I' poem on the Passion in Ashmole MS. 41, fol. 134 a (see *Register Mid. Eng. Relig. Verse*, i. 75). The same details are included also in the *Northern Passion* (ed. E.E.T.S., pp. 186-93).

1461. *þorw þe ffet þe þridde*: the tradition of three nails rather than four has the authority of Gregory Nazianzen among the Greek fathers; for discussion of the subject with further references see Richard Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S. 4, *Introd.*, pp. xix-xx.

1469. *þat . . . by-tale*: literally translating Ps. lxxviii. 12, 'et factus sum in parabolam'. This use of *in* in the sense of *into* was apparently unfamiliar to the scribe of *T*.

1485-6. Cf. note on v. 1259.

1497-8. Cf. *Introd.*, p. lxvi.

1524-40. On the sources of this lyrical passage cf. *Introd.*, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxvii.

1532. Reference to the virginity of John cited in connexion with that of Mary occurs also in vv. 1221-4 of the fifteenth-century *Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ*, edited by Dr. Charlotte D'Evelyn (E.E.T.S. 158, pp. 32-3); also in vv. 33-6 of the *Life of John the Evangelist* in the *S. E. L.* (E.E.T.S. 87, p. 403).

1547-50. This explanation of the eclipse of the sun as occasioned by compassion appears frequently and usually is extended to cover the other phenomena in nature attending the Crucifixion (cf. vv. 1587-1602). One may note among other instances Rolle, *Meditation*, ed. cit., i. 115; the poem *Filius Regis Mortuus Est* (E.E.T.S. 15 a, p. 237); *Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ*, E.E.T.S. 158, p. 31 (this last a somewhat close parallel). From

the Passion it was carried over, like some other associations, to apply to the Fall; cf. the York *Expulsio* (ed. L. Toulmin-Smith, pp. 32-3):

113 This erthe it trembelys for this tree.

119 Erthe, elementis, euer ilkane

For my synne has sorowe tane.

1551-2. *þe Mone*, &c.: This is the reading of all MSS. in Group π ; Group τ reads *sonne*. Accordingly, in MSS. of this group also in v. 1551 introduces a second reason for the eclipse of the sun: namely, indignation. This is supported by patristic tradition (cf. *Introd.*, pp. lxxxix-xc). Furthermore, since no authority for the mention of the moon appears in patristic writings, the reading *sonne* which appears in Group τ is to be accepted as correct. Support for this inference may be derived from the pronouns in the passage. If 'Mone' were in the original, we should expect relative pronouns in the masculine, whereas 'hure' (v. 1551) and 'þeo' (v. 1552) imply an antecedent originally feminine. Too much stress is not to be laid on this circumstance, however, inasmuch as the distinctions of grammatical gender which obtained earlier were becoming in this period confused or obliterated.

1578. & *sede*: *H* (correctly) omits the conjunction.

1587-1602. Cf. note on vv. 1547-50.

1645-70. On the sources of this passage cf. *Introd.*, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxix.

1649. *þat on is al wiþoute*: Cf. Rolle, *Meditation*: 'þou were racid and rent & beten so sore and so longe til al þin utter blood was bled' (ed. cit., p. 98).

1677. The shame traditionally associated with Calvary and with death by crucifixion is, of course, referred to repeatedly in devotional literature. Reference to the 'vile' quality of the wood of which the Rood was made is less frequent. The following passage from the *Legenda Aurea* may be cited: 'Notandum autem, quod ante Christi passionem lignum crucis fuit lignum vilitatis, quia huiusmodi cruces de lignis vilibus parabantur' (ed. Graesse, 1850, p. 605).

1693. *H* preserves the syntax.

1693-4. Cf. *Introd.*, p. lxxvii, and 'Life of Silvester', vv. 51-60 (E.E.T.S. 87, p. 392).

1714. A unique couplet follows this line in *B*:

þat he is fram deparyse of þe sepulcre þere

& þan welle þe ryzt be worse þan hit was ere.

1718. *K* has a unique couplet following this line:

Sore adrad were þe schrewen lest hi scholde be ouercome

þoru oure lordes myzte and in hare falschede be nome.

1733-82. These lines constitute a unit, one of a series of explanations of festal days which occur (variously distributed) in many MSS. of the *S. E. L.* (cf. *Introd.*, p. viii).

The tradition that the Passion occurred on the same date as the Annunciation is of ancient origin. It is referred to in a sermon of Chrysostom, cited

by Du Cange, and in other patristic writings. Cf. also *Legenda Aurea*, 'in die annuntiatus, fuit et passus' (*ed. cit.*, p. 229).

1737. *stedes*: this use of the word (= position in the calendar) is not noted in the *N.E.D.*

1738 a-d, 1767 a-b. These lines stand also in *T* and *B*.

1783-4. These two lines are omitted in *T*, which instead inserts at a later point an exposition of Litany and Rogations (see note on v. 2366).

1809-10. These lines corroborate the inference drawn from vv. 471-6.

1815-16. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii.

1821-6. Cf. *Introd.*, p. lxxiii.

1837-48. Cf. *Introd.*, p. lxxi.

1907-82. This spirited defence of the morality of women, with its well-reasoned attack on the double standard, reads like strong personal expression. A source has been noted for vv. 1965-72 (cf. *Introd.*, pp. ci-cii), but in the main the passage appears to be a piece of original reasoning from concrete social data. Both in method employed and in conclusion reached the performance is notable.

A line of argument somewhat similar to that developed in vv. 1925, 1953-8 is presented in vv. 49-60 of the poem, 'Of Women cometh this worldes weal' (ed. C. Brown, *Rel. Lyrics of the XIV Cent.*, p. 175).

1944. *Ech man ȝeo were loþ*: confused construction here and in *H*. The proper sense of *loþ* is 'repulsive', 'hateful', as in *Owl and N.*, v. 1607: 'ic am monne loþ'—see also *N.E.D.* This, however, would require the dat., *eche manne*. On the other hand, if *man* is here the subject and *loþ* is used in the modern sense, 'loath', 'reluctant', *ȝeo* must be altered to *hure*. This has actually been one in *T*, which reads: *Eche man hire*, &c.

1951. *Nay* the initial capital may possibly be a *D*, in which case the reading would agree with that of *H*. It would appear, however, that the scribe did not understand the expletive *daiþat* or *daiþet*; cf. the variant readings of v. 1940. On the derivation of the term cf. J. W. H. Atkins, *Owl and N.*, p. 10, note.

1958. At this point *B* inserts the following passage:

bot he be al toþles, as god ȝeue þat he were!
 þe kynde ek of alle oþer bestes vs wolle ȝit soþ lere
 þat þe goodnesse of women is more of Inouȝ
 & þe clenness also of men & þat me hem blameþ with wouȝ.
 ȝe seþ wel chip & roþerin & houndis ȝit þerto,
 hennes & ges & ek hors, & ech maner beste also,
 þat þe ȝhe-best hast here stille, as non soche þyng nere
 alle in pes but as hit falleþ in here tyme of þe ȝere;
 & ȝut somme of hem but ȝif hy be in good lese Ido
 ffram soche þyng stille beþ ȝere & oþer to.
 how þenkeþ ȝou of þe he-bestis? fareþ he alle so?
 nay, forsoþe, nouȝt mony, ȝif hy mowe come þer-to,
 ac beþ alle euere ȝare, when he nowe here make fynde
 boþe somer & winter ek, þer bleueþ fewe behynde;

& ȝif hy habbeȝ son a smel at þen tounes ende
 of folye of here make, ȝit hy wolleȝ þedir wende,
 & so synful beȝ in here dede þat chame hit is to þenche.
 here nou folis neme ensauple, & here leȝer wordes quenche.

1962. *B* inserts two lines :

Why nolle hy þenche on opire bestis as ich seyde byfore
 & Ise þe womman kende wel clennere is þan here. . . .

1965-72, 1979-82. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. ci-cii.

1972. *B* inserts six lines :

& þat ȝif men may ifynde a clerk þat haueȝ misdo
 eche rebaud wole segge anon þat hy fareȝ al so.
 What reson is þis? Seggeȝ soȝ þat ȝe þer-of ne lye,
 Is hit but an vnwrest wille & a foul rebaudye,
 ffor a gilt of o man þat men seȝ mysdo
 to seggen in here rebaudie þat al oȝer fareȝ so.

1978. *B* inserts ten lines :

þulke þat so holy here makeȝ, þulke cokir nonne,
 Ise ȝe what ȝhe hauit Ido & hou ȝhe haȝ a-gonne.
 we mow wel Ise what hy beȝ, dayȝat Ileue on
 ffor leȝer hy beȝ & false chame habbe hy echon.
 & so for a mysdede þat a gadelyng wolle brynge
 vpon a woman, þey it selde be & þey it be ȝut lesyng,
 Hy wolle blame eche wommon & many þat good is,
 & segge hy fareȝ alle so; why, what reson is þis?
 þat þe neste del of clene þynges þat selde doȝ amys
 scholleȝ ben blamed for one dede non soȝnesse hit nys.

1982. *B* inserts eighteen lines :

or ȝif ȝe cholle ech tyme þat ȝe I-seȝ a man mysdo
 blame alle men & segge þat hy ferdyn so.
 ȝe cholde wel selde abyde Inons day longe
 þat ȝe ne sede þat alle men were worȝy to ben an-honge
 so ȝif a man is a chrewe buȝ hy alle so?
 nay, þe soȝe ȝe wete wel, no reson nys þer-to;
 ffor ȝif o man for þeste were an-honged oȝer to-drawe
 & men wolde seruen þe ryȝt so, þou noldist hold it no lawe
 þou wost loke somdel sour & ȝeue hem wit-oute leue
 goddus blessing aueward alle þat soche dom ȝeue;
 and ȝit as þo wost by þy-sulue, by oȝer þenche al-so
 & þey a woman þorwȝ by-sokne of a foul man mysdo,
 þyne balled resoun ne polt nouȝt forȝ anon
 to segge in þyn ful lesyng þat hy fareȝ so echon,
 & þat hy weren alle worȝe to habben chame Inouȝ.
 ne blame wit noȝir his gilt no woman wit wouȝ;
 lete ech bere his oue gult as ryȝt wolde þat me bere
 as þou wost me dede by þe ȝif þou giltles were.

2046. *of oure*: a true genitive; cf. v. 2197.

2047. *buryeles*: singular in meaning (O.E. *byrgels*). The word is discussed among analogous forms by J. W. H. Atkins, ed. *The Owl and the Nightingale*, in his note on v. 1128.

2065. *y-buyed away*: cf. *Luc.* xxiv. 29 'inclinata est iam dies'.

2141. *vnbyleoued*: an adjective formed on the root of the substantive *vnbyleous*; cf. *ragged*, *dogged*, &c.

2159-68. On the source cf. *Introd.*, p. lxxxiii. That Christ will show his wounds to sinners at Doomsday became a fixed convention in Middle English poetry: cf. the religious *chanson d'aventure* beginning, 'Bi west vnder a wilde wode syde', ed. Furnivall, *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1862, Pt. II, pp. 118-24, and the poem on the Fifteen Signs, ed. by Varnhagen, *Anglia*, iii, pp. 543-51. The convention occurs also in the drama; cf. the *York Judgement*, ed. L. Toulmin-Smith, p. 499.

2164 a-f. These lines stand in all MSS. of Group *τ*.

2168. *B* breaks off at this point with the following benediction:

& alle þat þencheþ on his passioun þou hem kepe fram synne
þat hy mou3 serwe her an erpe þy kyndom to wyne.
& bryng vs to ʔoure eritage in-to þy wonyng,
þou graunte vs, lord, þat we so mote, Ihesus almyzty kyng. Amen.

2196. *hi-ledde*: to be read as the participle (as also in *H*), although the cockney *h* is most unusual. Cf. *Joan.* xxi. 9 'et piscem superpositum'.

2197. *jour on*: an interesting survival of Anglo-Saxon construction.

2213-14. The reading of *H* is manifestly to be preferred.

2224 a, b. This couplet, which is obviously required by the context, is preserved only in *K*.

2234 a-f. These lines also in *V* and *T*.

2250-5. The meaning becomes clearer and more consecutive if v. 2254 be placed after v. 2251. Was this the original arrangement?

2304. *eft come*: as one word in MS.

2353-64. On the source cf. *Introd.*, p. lxix.

2366. Immediately after this line *T* inserts these unique transitional lines:

Afterward þe fourtiþe þat he ros fro deþ to lyue
He steigh in-to heuyn with his woundis fyue
As it falliþ on halwe þorisday þat he gan to heuen styȝe
But arst holi chirche halt þe feste of letanye.

These four lines are followed in *T* by the exposition of Litany and Rogations (fifty-six lines) beginning, 'Letanye is a song', &c., which occurs in many other MSS. of the *S. E. L.* quite detached from the *Passion* (cf. *Register of Mid. Eng. Reliq. Verse*, ii, No. 1154).

2411-16. On the source cf. *Introd.*, p. lxix.

2412 a-f. These lines also in *V* and *T*.

2467. *sede*: *H* (correctly) *sete*.

2476 a, b. These lines also in *V* and *T*.

GLOSSARY

The Glossary is intended to include all words which occur in the Text, recording also the various inflexional forms with the variant spellings of each. It has been impossible, however, to register repeated occurrences of any single form: the citation given is ordinarily that of its earliest occurrence in the Text. Words in the bracketed passages supplied in the Text from other MSS. have been listed in the Glossary, but in these cases the initial of the MS. in which it occurs is prefixed to the line-number.

Verbs are entered under the form of the infinitive, and in cases where the Text does not yield an instance of the infinitive of a given verb, it is placed under a constructed infinitive enclosed in parentheses. The only exception to this rule is in the case of verbs of which only the preterit participles appear in the Text. These have been entered in their alphabetical position under the participial form.

The abbreviations of grammatical terms which have been employed are too obvious to require explanation.

A

a, *interj.*; *ah!* O! 2143.
a, *prep.* (O.E. on); *on* 1.
a, *indef. art.*; *a*, *an* 3.
abak, *adv.*; *back* 1815.
a-bakward, *adv.*; *backward* 1810.
aboute, *adv.*; *about* 85.
aboute, *prep.*; *about* 44.
abrod, *adv.*; *abroad* 605.
(abuye), *vb.*; (1) *bow down*; *pt.* 3 s.
abuyede 1861. (2) *wane*; *pt.* p.
y-buied 2065.
abyde, *vb.*; *abide*, *wait* 578; *pr.* 3 s.
abydeþ 584; *pr. sbj.* *abyde* 2306;
pt. 3 s. *abod* 139.
abygge, *vb.*; *pay for*, *buy* 1382;
pt. 2 s. *a-bouȝtest* 1535.
(accuse), *vb.*; *accuse*: *pt.* 3 s. *ac-*
cusede 1187.
acordaunt, *adj.*; *in accord*, *similar*
2284.
a-corse, *vb.*; *curse* 1466; *pr. pl.*
acorse 1471; *pt. p.* *acorsed* 1473,
acorsede 709.
a-counted, *pt. p.*; *reckoned* 673.
accountes, *sb. pl.*; *accounts* 626.
acoupermentz, *sb. pl.*; *accusations*
1286.
adders, *sb. pl.*; *adders*, *serpents*
2337.
adoun, *adv.*; *down*, 71.
adrad, *pt. p.*; *afraid*, *terrified* 827.
a-drenche, *vb.*; *drown* 1962.

a-ffisschep, *vbl. sb.*; *a-fishing* 2179;
a-ffisschyng 2171.
affonge, *vb.*; *receive* 156; *pt.* 3 s.
afeng 616, **afeng** 635; *pt. p.* *afonge*
627.
affyngred, *ppl. adj.*; *hungry* 694.
after, *adv.*; *after* 1726.
afterward, *adv.*; *afterward* 885.
agast, *ppl. adj.*; *aghost* 1805.
agaste, *vb.*; *fear*; *pt.* 3 s. *agaste*
1722.
agrise, *adj. pl.*; *afraid* 1145.
azen, *prep.* (1) *opposite* 49. (2) *to-*
ward 383, *aze* 2192.
azen, *adv.*; *again* 140.
ak, *conj.*; *but* 18.
al, *adj.*; (1) *entire* 10. (2) *every*
1938; *pl.* *alle* 100.
al, *adv.*; *all* 60; *in intensive phrase*
al out, *absolutely*, *wholly* 278.
ale-benche, *sb.*; *ale-bench* 1959.
ale-ffat, *sb.*; *ale-vat* 1962.
alegate, *adv.*; *always* 196.
aligte, *vb.*; *alight* 489; *pr.* 1 s. *aligte*
200; *pr. pl.* *aligte* 2486; *imp.* *aligt*
1484, *pt.* 3 s. *aligte* 560, *pt. p.* *aligt*
127.
allas, *interj.*; *alas!* 113.
almesfol, *adj.*; *charitable* 728.
alмест, *adv.*; *almost* 2064.
alonde, *adv.*; (1) *ashore*, *on dry*
land 2204. (2) *in the land* 2343.
alone, *adv.*; *alone* 182; *alon* 190.

- aloosed, *ppl. adj.*; *ill-reputed* 113.
 aloud, *adv.*; *aloud* 1407.
 aloute, *vb.*; *bow, do homage* 1228.
 also, *adv.*; (1) *also* 19; (2) *thus* 185.
 alyue, *adj.*, *alive* 1972.
 amen, *interj.*; *amen* 785.
 (amende), *vb.*; *amend*; *pr. sbj.* amende 866; *pt. 3 s.* amendede 1264.
 amendynge, *vbl. sb.*; *making amends*, 1411.
 among, *prep.*; *among* 154.
 a-morwe, *adv.*; *next day, on the morrow* 45.
 ampty, *adj. pl.*; *empty* 553.
 amydde, *adv.*; *in the middle* 235.
 amydde, *prep.* (1) *between* 262; (2) *among* 2089.
 an, *indef. art.*; *a, an* 50.
 an, *prep.*; *on* 64. (See also on.)
 an, *num. adj.*; *one* 1134, *on* 2197 (see note).
 and, *conj.*; (1) *and* 4; *an* 289; (2) *if* 774.
 (a-nempne), *vb.*; *name*; *pt. 3 s.* anempnede 1837.
 anguisse, *sb.*; *anguish (dat.)* 99.
 anhaunsed, *pt. p.*; *raised up* 213.
 (anhonge), *vb.*; *hang*; *pt. pl.* anhonge 1672; *pt. sbj.* anhonge 1402; *pt. p.* anhonge 1430.
 a-niȝt, *adv.*; *at night* 134.
 anon, *adv.*; *anon* 10.
 anoper, *indef. pron.*; *another* 42.
 answerē, *sb.*; *answer* 420.
 answerye, *vb.*; *answer* 699, *answerie* 693; *pt. 3 s.* answerede 395; *answerde* K 2224b; *pt. pl.* answerede 1140.
 anuy, *sb.*; *mental depression* 2028.
 anuye, *vb.*; *harm, injure* 2338.
 apayd, *pt. p.*; *paid* 175.
 (apere), *vb.*; *appear*; *pt. 3 s.* aperede 2328.
 apert, *adj.*; *open, manifest* 2264; *comp.* apertour 1989.
 apert, *adv.*; *openly, clearly* 1023.
 aperteliche, *adv.*; *openly* 1195.
 apostel, *sb.*; *apostle* 2188; *pl.* apostles 89, aposteles 310.
 appel, *sb.*; *apple* 1755.
 (aproche), *vb.*; *approach*; *pt. 3 s.* aprochede 91.
 aquelle, *vb.*; *kill* 321. (See also quelle.)
 aqueynt, *ppl. adj.*; *extinguished* 592.
 ar, *prep.*; *before* 55.
 (areche), *vb.*; *reach*; *pr. 3 s.* arechep 818.
 arede, *vb.*; *guess* 1230.
 arere, *vb.*; *rear, build up* 1292; *pt. 3 s.* arerede 72; *pt. p.* arered 2412.
 arise, *vb.*; *arise* 404; *imp. s.* aris 2503, *imp. pl.* arise 1120; *pt. 3 s.* aros 877; *pt. pl.* arise 1723, arisen 1725; *pt. p.* arise 1146.
 armes, *sb. pl.*; *weapons* 1129.
 armes, *sb. pl.*; *arms* 1615; *gen. s.* armes 2194.
 arst, *adv.*; *first, formerly* 1434.
 as, *pleonastic adv.*; 1, 13, &c.
 as, *adv. conj.*; (1) *as* 15; (2) *while* 45; (3) *where* 2131.
 as, *adv.*, *in like manner* 89.
 asemblyng, *vbl. sb.*; *assembly, gathering* 796.
 (aserve), *vb.*; *deserve*; *pt. p.* aserved 601.
 ashamed, *ppl. adj.*; *ashamed* 825.
 aslepe, *adj. pl.*; *asleep* 1091.
 aspye, *sb.*; *spy* 1682.
 asse, *sb.*; *ass* 50.
 asse-colt, *sb.*; *foal of an ass* 65.
 asse-mere, *sb.*; *she-ass* 58.
 at, *prep.*; (1) *at* 87; (2) *to* 15.
 ate = at þe, 243.
 at-holde, *vb.*; *hold, retain* 2532, atholden H 281; *pr. pl.* atholdeþ 2124; *pt. p.* atholde 2124.
 apurst, *adj.*; *athirst* 687.
 atte = at þe, 5.
 atten = at þen 314.
 atwo, *adv.*; *in two* 374.
 auȝte, *sb.*; *possessions?* 177 (see note).
 aungel, *sb.*; *angel* 207, angel 1799, *pl.* aungeles 374.
 auntecrist, *sb.*; *Antichrist* 400.
 (awayte), *vb.*; *await*; *pt. 3 s.* awaytēde 776; *pt. pl.* awaytēde 1814.
 away, *adv.*; *away* 372.
 awreke, *vb.*; *avenge*; *pt. p.* awreke 1302.
 axe, *vb.*; *ask* 831; *pr. pl.* axep 1020; *pr. sbj.* aske 1035; *pt. 3 s.* axede 780; *pt. pl.* axede 386; *pt. sbj.* askede 1007.
 axynges, *vbl. sb. pl.*; *askings, inquiries* 2232.
 ayse, *sb.*; (1) *opportunity, means or ability* 173 (see note). (2) *ease, comfort*; ese 1606.

B

- bacyn, *sb.*; *basin* 879.
 baptyze, *vb.*; *baptize* 2489; *imp. pl.*

- baptize 2318; *pt. p.* ybaptized 1261, baptyzed 2333.
 bar, *adj.*; *bare* 1172.
 barfoot, *adj.*; *barefoot* 70.
 baroun, *sb.*; *baron* 1948.
 batayl, *sb.*; *battle* 1102; *pl.* batayles 401.
 be, *prep.*; *by*, *T* 9716.
 bedde, *sb.*; *bed* 503.
 bedes, *sb. pl.*; *beds* 157.
 beleve, *vb.*; *leave, abandon*, *T* 971 b. (*See also* byleue.)
 belle, *sb.*; *bell* 88.
 bende, *sb. pl.*; *bonds* 1164.
 beo, *vb.*; *be* 23; *ibe* *T* 971a; *pr. 1 s.* am 816, *pr. 2 s.* art 632, artou 1122, artow 1334; *pr. 3 s.* is 8; *pr. pl.* beop 1157, beo (*followed by pron.*) 36; *pr. sbj.* beo 39; *pt. 1 s.* was 686; *pt. 2 s.* were (*followed by pron.*) 1609; *pt. 3 s.* was 3; *pt. pl.* were 27; *pt. sbj.* were 15; *pt. p.* yebo 2499.
 beode, *vb.*; (1) *command*; *pr. 3 s.* byddeþ 609 (*see note*); *pt. 3 s.* bad 116; *pt. pl.* bede 1230. (2) *offer*; *pr. sbj. pl.* beode 783; *pt. pl.* bode 2101.
 beo-knowe, *vb.*; *acknowledge, confess* 2234.
 beolde, *vb.*; *build* 488.
 beolderes, *sb. pl.*; *builders* 255.
 beome, *sb. pl.*; *trumpets*, 586.
 bere, *vb.*; (1) *bear, carry* 1436; *imp. s.* ber 2140; *pt. pl.* bere 535. (2) *bear* (*witness*) *imp. s.* 1202. (3) *accuse* *pt. pl.* bere 1213. (4) *give birth to*; *pt. 3 s.* bar 2462. (5) *yield fruit*; *pr. 2 s.* berest 144.
 (berste), *vb.*; *burst*; *pt. 3 s.* barst 1398.
 berynge, *vbl. sb.*; *bearing, behaviour* 2248.
 besaunt, *sb.*; *a Byzantine coin* 620; *pl.* besaunt; 613.
 best, *sb.*; *best, creature* 1985.
 bet, *adv. comp.*; *better* 597.
 bete, *vb.*; (*O.E.* betan); *do penance for*; *imp. pl.* betep 2490.
 bete, *vb.*; (*O.E.* betan); *beat, scourge* 1231; *pt. pl.* bete 241.
 betere, *adj. comp.*; *better* 277.
 beye, *adj.* (*as sb.*); *both* 61.
 bisschop, *sb.*; *bishop* 341; *gen.* bisschopes 1128; *pl.* bisschopes 2515.
 bisschopriche, *sb.*; *bishopric* 2449.
 blak, *adj.*; *black* 1547.
 blame, *sb.*; *blame* 1271.
 blame, *vb.*; *blame*; *pr. 3 s.* blameþ 1925; *imp. s.* blame 80; *imp. pl.* blameþ 1982; *pt. 3 s.* blamede 1100; *pt. p.* yblamed 1942.
 (blesse), *vb.*; *bless*; *pt. 3 s.* blessede 840; *pt. p.* yblessed 78.
 blessedde, *adj. pl.*; *blessed* 684.
 blessyng, *sb.*; *blessing* 2397; (*dat.*) blessyng 2155.
 blis, *sb.*; *bliss*, 352, blisse 297; (*dat.*) blisse 372.
 blod, *sb.*; *blood* 360, blode 857; (*dat.*) blod 1643.
 bloody, *adj. pl.*; *bloody* 1111.
 (blowe), *vb.*; *blow*; *pt. 3 s.* blew 2117; *pt. pl.* blewe 586.
 blynd, *adj.*; *blind*, 1635; *pl.* (*as sb.*) blynde 115.
 blyue, *adv.*; *quickly* 4.
 bobaunse, *sb.*; *pomp, pride* 552.
 body, *sb.*; *body* 190; *bodi* *H* 2164 d.
 boffet, *sb.*; *buffet* 1199; *pl.* boffetes 1229; *boffetes* 1528.
 bok, *sb.*; *book*, 257; (*dat.*) 254; *pl.* bokes 1926.
 boldelych, *adv.*; *boldly* 2472; *bolde-lyche* 253.
 boles, *sb. pl.*; *bulls* 290.
 bon, *sb.*; *bone* 1557; *pl.* bones 1596.
 bone, *sb.*; *petition* 203.
 bord, *sb.*; *board, table* 341.
 borw, *sb.*; *borough, town* 2420, bur; *H* 2476 a.
 bosteres, *sb. pl.*; *boasters* 1963.
 bote, *conj.*; (1) *but* 112. (2) *unless* 1116.
 bote, *prep.*; *but* 142.
 bope, *adj. pron.*; *both* 262.
 botyler, *sb.*; *servant who pours liquor, butler* 1960.
 bow, *sb.*; *bough* 142; *pl.* bowes 74.
 box, *sb.*; *box* 9.
 bred, *sb.*; *bread* 840; *brede* 800; (*dat.*) bred 833, brede 2080.
 (breke), *vb.*; *break*; *pr. 3 s.* brekep 1597; *pr. sbj.* breke 1591; *pt. 3 s.* brak 841; *pt. pl.* breke 1724.
 brekyng, *vbl. sb.*; *breaking* 2080.
 (brenne), *vb.*; *burn*; *pr. p.* brennyng 2071.
 breost, *sb.*; *breast* 829.
 brep, *sb.*; *breath* 2118; (*dat.*) breþe 1580.
 bringe, *vb.*; *bring* 87, bryng 102; *pr. 3 s.* bringep 185; *pr. pl.* bringep 1964; *imp. s.* bryng 2546; *pt. 3 s.* brouȝt 3; *pt. p.* ybrouȝt 28.
 brondes, *sb. pl.*; *brands, staves* 1129.

- broper, sb.**; *brother* 721; *pl.* breþe-ren 423.
brudale, sb.; *wedding-feast* 286.
brude, sb.; *bride* 2462.
brym, sb.; *shore* 364; (*dat.*) brymme 2180.
budeles, sb. pl.; *beadles, constables* 1211.
burye, vb.; *bury* 733; *pt.* 3 s. buriede 1695; *pt. p.* yburied 39, ybured 2051.
buryeles, sb.; *tomb* 2047 (see note).
burynge, sb.; *burial place* 1818.
busmare, sb.; *mockery, gibing* 1480.
by, prep.; *by* 68; *bi* 1767 b.
(byclupe), vb.; *wrap, enfold*: *pt.* 3 s. byclupte 878.
by-come, vb.; (1) *become* 493; *pt. pl.* bycome 1313. (2) *betake oneself*, *pt.* 3 s. bycom 2070.
(bydelve), vb.; *bury in the earth*: *pt.* 3 s. bydalf 620.
bydde, vb.; *ask, invite, pray* 155 (? *offer* 784); *pr.* 1 s. bydde 201; *imp. pl.* byddeþ 510; *pt.* 3 s. bed 4, bad 722; *pt. pl.* bede 326; *pt. p.* ybede 287.
byddyng, vbl. sb.; *entreaty* 1938.
bydyng, vbl. sb.; *abiding, tarrying* 583.
by-ffalle, vb.; *befall* 153; *pt. pl.* by-ffelle; *pt. p.* by-ffalle 786.
by-ffore, prep.; *before* 1.
by-ffore, adv.; (1) *previously* 37; *biffore* 2321. (2) *in front* 76.
bygge, vb.; *buy* 352; *bugge* *H* 1767 a; *pr.* 3 s. byggeþ 350, byþ 350 d; *imp. pl.* byggeþ 570; *pt.* 3 s. bouȝte 138; *pt.* 2 s. bouȝtestou 1113.
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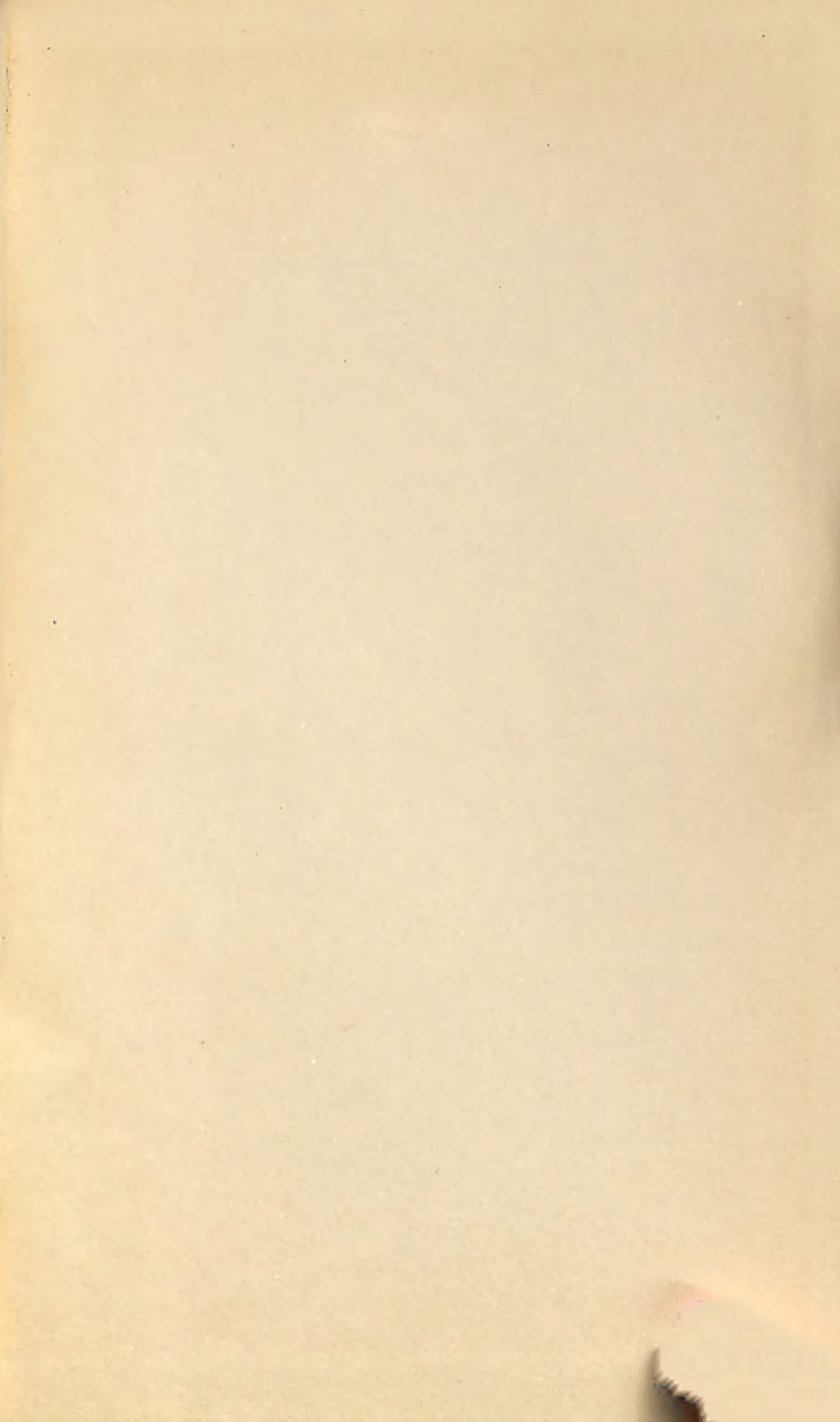
2064; *pt. pl.* wonede 1871; *pt. p.* ywonede 1126.
 wonyynge, *vbl. sb.*; *dwelling* 90; *pl.* wonyynge 933.
 wop, *sb.*; *weeping* 339.
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 workeday, *sb.*; *working day* 2415.
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 (worpe), *vb.* (O.E. *weorpan*); *be, become*: *pr. 1 s.* worþ 1120; *pr. 2 s.* worst 922; *pr. 3 s.* worþ 212; *pt. sbj.* worþe 821.
 wounde, *sb.*; *wound* 2158; *pl.* wonden *H* 2164 a.
 (wounde), *vb.*; *wound*: *pt. pl.* woundede 307; *pt. p.* iwounded *H* 2164 e.
 wow, *sb.* (O.E. *wōh*); *wrong, injustice* 1386; (*dat.*) wowe 295; woze *H* 316 (see note).
 wrappe, *sb.* (*dat.*); *wrath* 33.
 (wrappen), *vb.*; *make angry, displease*: *pt. 3 s.* wrappede 1403.
 wrecche, *adj.*; *wretched* 1612.
 wrecche, *sb.*; *retribution* 1379; wreche 1396.
 wrecchede, *sb.*; *wretchedness* 1586; wrechede 658.
 wrench, *sb.*; *trick* 770.
 wrenche, *vb.*; *wrench away, take by force* 672.
 write, *sb.* (*dat.*); *writing, scripture* 2111; *pl.* writes 2110.
 wrop, *adj.*; *wroth* 21; *pl.* wrope 119.
 wyde, *adv.*; *widely* 67; *wide* *H* 2357 e.
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 wyn, *sb.*; *wine* 844.
 wynd, *sb.*; *wind* 2469.
 wyne, *vb.*; *win, gain* 370; *pt. 3 s.* wan 618; *pt. sbj.* wonne 1272.
 (wype), *vb.*; *wipe*: *pt. 3 s.* wypede 9.
 wyse, *sb.*; *way, manner* 1278.
 wytye, *vb.*; *guard, keep, protect* 1710; wytie 194, wyte 39, wite 1717, witte 983.
 wytnesse, *sb.*; *witness* 1202; *witnesse* 2300.
 wyttes. *See under wit.*

Y

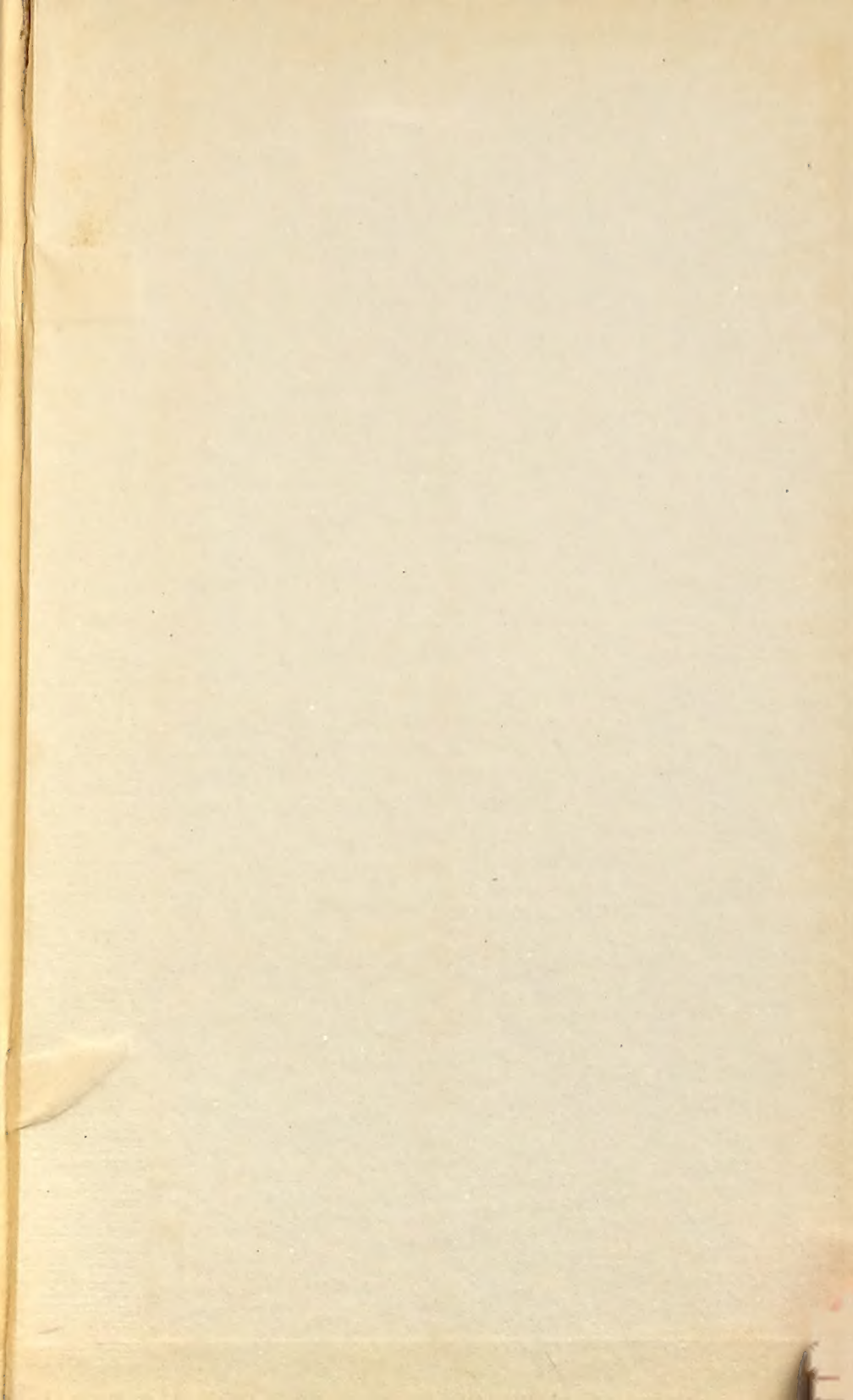
y, 1 *pers. pron. s.*; *I* 30; *ich* 39; (*dat. acc.*) me 37.

y-armed, *ppl. adj.*; armed 1716.
 ybarred, *pt. p.*; barred 2135.
 yclonge, *ppl. adj.*; dried up 2355.
 ycristned, *pt. p.*; christened, baptized 1558.
 ycrouned, *pt. p.*; crowned 1425.
 yffolwed, *pt. p.*; followed out 2381.
 yffounde, *pt. p.*; founded, established 1692.
 yffuld, *pt. p.*; filled 10.
 ygrauned, *pt. p.*; hollowed out 1822.
 ygurd, *pt. p.*; girded 2267.
 yhaltret, *pt. p.*; haltered 70.
 yhure, *vb.*; hear 1116; *pt. pl. ihurde* H 2476 b.
 y-knowe, *vb.*; (O.E. *gecnáwan*); acknowledge, confess 101; *iknowe* H 2357 d; *pr. sbj. yknowe* 1002; *pt. p. yknowe* 84.
 (yleoue), *vb.*; believe: *imp. pl. yleoueþ* 155.
 yleste, *vb.*; continue, last 440; *pr. 3 s. ylaste* 1545; *pt. sbj. ylaste* 450.
 yleueod, *pt. p.*; leaved 141.
 ylich, *adj.*; like 285.
 ylle, *adj. pl.*; ill 1432.
 ylome, *adv.*; frequently 312.
 ymartred, *pt. p.*; martyred 1640.
 ymeoued, *pt. p.*; moved 106.
 yn, *adv.*; in 164.
 yn, *sb.*; inn 134.
 ynayled, *pt. p.*; nailed 1479.
 ynles, *adj.*; homeless, shelterless 688.

(ynne), *vb.*; harbour, give shelter: *pt. pl. ynnede* 696.
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 ypynded, *pt. p.*; tortured 1479.
 yrosted, *pt. p.*; roasted 2102.
 ysacred, *pt. p.*; consecrated 1694.
 yschore, *pt. p.*; shorn 2252.
 yseo, *vb.*; see, behold 112; *pr. pl. y-seo* (*foll. by pron.*) 387; *pr. sbj. yseo* 210; *imp. s. yseo* 2139; *imp. pl. yseop* 2095; *pt. 2 s. yseye* 2144; *pt. 3 s. ysey* 92, ysay 830; *pt. pl. yseye* 147.
 y-shorted, *pt. p.*; shortened 433.
 ysowed, *pt. p.*; sewed 1497.
 yspoused, *pt. p.*; espoused, married 2463.
 ystreyt, *pt. p.*; stretched 1615.
 ystryued, *pt. p.*; striven, contended 1331.
 y-teyd, *pt. p.*; tied 50.
 (y-peon), *vb.*; thrive, prosper: *pr. pl. y-peop* 1810.
 ywar, *adj.*; aware 498.
 yweued, *pt. p.*; clothed 1421.
 ywis, *adv.*; certainly 7.
 ywite, *vb.*; know 819; ywyte 482.
 ywounde, *pt. p.*; wound, wrapped 1691.
 ywrite, *pt. p.*; written 111.



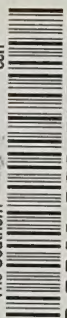




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